JTP

THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY LIBRARY
CHELSEA SQUARE, NEW YORK II, N. Y.

Dean Hoffman Fund

DIARY

OF

ALEXANDER JAFFRAY,

PROVOST OF ABERDEEN,
ONE OF THE SCOTTISH COMMISSIONERS TO KING CHARLES II.,
AND A MEMBER OF CROMWELL'S PARLIAMENT:

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

PARTICULARS OF HIS SUBSEQUENT LIFE,

GIVEN IN CONNEXION WITH

MEMOIRS

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND PERSECUTIONS, OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS,

IN THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND;

AMONG WHOM HE BECAME ONE OF THE EARLIEST MEMBERS.

BY JOHN BARCLAY.

"IF TRUTH DO ANY WHERE MANIFEST ITSELF, SEEK NOT TO SMOTHER IT WITH GLOZING DELUSION; ACKNOWLEDGE THE GREATNESS THEREOF, AND THINK IT YOUR BEST VICTORY, WHEN THE SAME PREVAILS OVER YOU."—Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Preface, Sect. ix.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY HARVEY & DARTON, GRACECHURCH STREET;
ALEXANDER BROWN AND CO., ABERDEEN;
AND WILLIAM WHYTE AND CO., EDINBURGH.

MDCCCXXXIII.

92
J18

119395

LONDON:
JOSEPH RICKERBY, PRINTER,
SHERBOURN LANE.

INTRODUCTION.

The following Work consists of two distinct parts.—The first part is a religious Diary, nearly two hundred years old, now for the first time committed to the press; the Writer of which filled some responsible public stations about the period of the Commonwealth, but, shortly after the close of his narrative, and while in the meridian of life, was among the earliest in his native city of Aberdeen, to join himself in communion with the people called Quakers. The second division of this Work, carries forward what is known of the subsequent career of Alexander Jaffray, in conjunction with historical Memoirs of his cotemporaries and companions in the profession of the same Christian principles.

With regard to the Diary, it came into my hands in the following manner. Travelling in Scotland in the autumn of 1827, I visited Ury, near Stonehaven, the place of my ancestors, and well known to the Society of Friends as the residence of Robert Barclay, their "Apologist." My mingled feelings of interest, in passing a night or two under the roof of the hospitable proprietor, my cousin, I need not enlarge on; yet must not forbear expressing the emotions of desire and hope, which attended me from the first, that the inquiry and search I was about to make, for documents relative to that family *as Friends*, might be turned to a beneficial account, by throwing light upon the history of that remarkable religious experience, for which some of them in former times were distinguished, and are to this day deservedly held in reputation. Among other MSS. to all appearance much neglected, and which might have

been ere long utterly lost sight of, lay the earlier portion of the present Diary, *in a corner of the Apologist's study;* and, in another place, "A Brief Historical Account of the Rise, Progress, and Persecutions of the People called Quakers, in the North of Scotland." Of the latter MS. I shall presently have occasion to speak; but of the former, with regard to its appearance and state of preservation, the reader may be best assisted in forming a correct idea, by inspecting the engraved fac-simile of its opening page, which will be found facing page 1 of this volume. The paper was highly discoloured, and the writing in some places much injured by time; the character of it was at first not easily deciphered, so that many parts were for a time almost wholly unintelligible; and the name of the writer no where appearing, furnished a further source of difficulty. This *first* pocket Journal or Diary extends only to the 128th page of the present volume: detached fragments of *another MS.* were, however, discovered, leaf after leaf, in a very tattered condition, in a loft of a farm-house not far from the old mansion; these were quickly recognised, among heaps of waste paper, as being in the same hand-writing, and proved to be a counterpart of the other. The intrinsic value of the document, as a whole, being at length ascertained, no obstacle that presented was sufficient to deter from a close investigation of the subject; nor could any after-discouragements prevail to turn aside the conclusion, which now results in producing such treasure, for the participation of my friends and the public.

I am unable to state, how this MS. came into the possession of the Barclays of Ury; but, from the great intimacy which subsisted for several generations between that family and the Jaffrays, it is highly probable, that it was consigned by some branch of the latter to the care of the former, with a view to its publication. The most prominent design of the Writer, in taking down these observations on the Lord's goodness towards him, is set forth at the commencement of the Diary; being expressively opened, by the introduction of two Scriptural

passages, which he there adopts as his motto, and to which, as a watchword, he often recurs—namely, that he might *stir up himself, and engage his heart to the Lord for ever.* Yet, besides this primary design of self-improvement, it becomes manifest as we proceed, that he includes a further object, and that he is not without hope, his successors, especially his children, may derive instruction from a recital of the passages and exercises of his life. Many interesting circumstances of his public career are, however, but slightly traced, while others are wholly passed over; on which account, it was thought desirable, to endeavour to supply by Notes such additional information, as could at this distance of time be gathered from other sources. An opportunity was likewise thus afforded, of illustrating in various ways the facts and sentiments adduced. An Appendix of Notes and Illustrations will therefore be found immediately *at the close of the Diary;* which, it is hoped, will in all cases be regularly turned to, at the place where the reference to it is given.

The disadvantages under which this plan was carried into effect, and the difficulties which were encountered, cannot in any adequate manner be understood by the general reader. It will, however, be only proper to mention, that, in pursuing these investigations, I was led to travel much further than could have been anticipated, and over a great deal of ground, from which little could be gleaned that was convertible to my purpose; and that no personal labour nor expense has been spared, which seemed likely to contribute to it,—however imperfectly, after all, my own wishes in regard to this part of the Work are fulfilled. I must here acknowledge the very kind assistance I have derived from some of my friends, and also from some literary characters both at Edinburgh and Aberdeen; towards the latter, as I have no personal acquaintance with them, I cannot but consider myself the more indebted for their prompt attentions. In drawing up these illustrations, I always preferred making use of *original* matter and *original* sources of authority, where it could be done, rather than inserting

statements in my own terms, though *grounded upon* intermediate or even original testimony. Fully sensible how much they need indulgence, I shall be well satisfied, if those to whose hands the Work may come, are led, by a careful examination of the Notes, more fully to appreciate *the nature* of those circumstances to which the Diary alludes; but above all, *the spirit* of those reflections, which with so much lively weight and ingenuous simplicity he unfolds.

With regard to the character of the times in which Alexander Jaffray lived, especially the times of the Commonwealth, there has been a great disparity of opinion, according to the favourable or unfavourable medium, through which persons have been disposed to view this question. I would, however, venture to submit the following passage from a modern publication, as embracing some just and judicious considerations.

"Of the true state of religion during the period of Cromwell's government, it is difficult to form an accurate estimate. Judging from certain external appearances, and comparing them with the times which followed, the opinion must be highly favourable. Religion was the language, and the garb of the court; prayer and fasting were fashionable exercises; a profession was the road to preferment; not a play was acted in all England for many years, and from the prince to the peasant and common soldier, the features of Puritanism were universally exhibited. Judging, again, from the wildness and extravagance of various opinions and practices, which then obtained—and from the fanatical slang, and hypocritical grimace, which were adopted by many merely to answer a purpose—our opinion will necessarily be unfavourable. The truth, perhaps, lies between the extremes of unqualified censure, and undistinguishing approbation. Making all due allowance for the infirmity and sin, which were combined with the profession of religion—making every abatement for the inducements, which then encouraged the use of a religious vocabulary—admitting that there was even a large portion of pure fanaticism, still, we apprehend, an immense mass of genuine religion will remain.

There must have been a large quantity of sterling coin, when there was such a circulation of counterfeit. In the best of the men of that period, there was, doubtless, a tincture of unscriptural enthusiasm, and the use of a phraseology revolting to the taste of modern time; in many, perhaps, there was nothing more; but, to infer, that *therefore* all was base, unnatural deceit, would be unjust and unwise. 'A reformation,' says Jortin, [in his Remarks on Ecclesiastical History,] 'is seldom carried on, without a heat and vehemence, which borders upon enthusiasm. As Cicero has observed, that there never was a great man, *sine afflatu divino;* so, in times of religious contests, there seldom was a man very zealous for liberty, civil and ecclesiastical, and a declared active enemy to insolent tyranny, blind superstition, political godliness, bigotry, and pious frauds, who had not a fervency of zeal, which led him on some occasions beyond the bounds of sober, temperate reason.' "—Orme's Memoirs of the Life of Owen.

But it will be needful to pursue the subject of *enthusiasm* somewhat further; inasmuch as it may have, in the minds of some, a particular reference not only to Jaffray *as he is in the Diary*, leaning to the Independents, but to Jaffray, *as he is among his colleagues in the Memoirs*, a zealous "Quaker."—"It is most unreasonable," observes a descendant of the family of Cromwell, in rebutting the animadversions of Hume against the Independents of that day, "to deny to religious characters, their fervours in the pursuit of their great object, and to indulge the worldly in all their ardours and extravagances, in the comparatively trifling objects of their pursuits. By the men of the world, the arduous, persevering Christian of the Parliament party, was, in those times, deemed an enthusiast and an hypocrite, and his best actions represented as influenced by the most sinister and mischievous motives: all was resolved into hypocrisy or enthusiasm." "Lord Clarendon speaks contemptuously of the expression '*seeking God*,' which, he says, was a new phrase brought from Scotland with their Covenant. It might have been a new phrase in England; but it is per-

fectly expressive of the thing meant, namely, a devout and humble application by prayer to the Almighty, by a nation or individuals, to avert impending public or private calamities; or to remove them if incurred; or for direction and assistance in concerns of importance, too great for human accomplishment. In religious language, perhaps it may be generally best to avoid what may be called technical phraseology: particular words frequently used, expressive (for brevity sake) of any particular religious act or observance, are liable to be catched at by the world, and used for the purposes of turning into ridicule every thing serious. In the succeeding licentious reign of King Charles the 2nd, all semblance of religion was studiously put out of sight; it was become quite unfashionable; and the ridicule of its professors, and of all the religious language and acts of the preceding times, was considered a kind of test of loyalty to the then sovereign and government. This phrase of 'seeking God,' then used as expressive of the act of prayer, public or private, became, after the Restoration, with other religious phrases or expressions, subjects of ridicule.—Lightly or contemptuously, however, as the men of the world, when in health and prosperity, may treat this application to and reliance upon Divine Providence, the religious part of the Christian world are in the constant and habitual practice of it, and thence, there can be no doubt, derive the greatest comfort and assurance. Independently of prayer being a commanded duty, it is surely a reasonable service, inasmuch as it is an acknowledgment of our dependence upon the Supreme Being, to whom, feeble and insufficient as we are, we must be constantly looking for the support of our existence, and for the continuance of all our comforts and enjoyments." After some other remarks, delivered in a strain very becoming this subject; but not so directly bearing upon our purpose, this author proceeds. —"Our holy religion teaches us to expect this assistance through and by the means of the Holy Spirit; for which assistance, and for whose influence, we all ask in the most expressive terms, in our attendance upon the public worship of

our Established Church, and in the prayers of our Liturgy. Strange, then, to tell how all these acts of devotion, and all the religious professors of the above times, were afterwards, in the succeeding reign of King Charles the 2nd, held up to ridicule and contempt, as the vilest of canting, enthusiastical hypocrites and knaves, and as masking their political, ambitious designs, under the show and pretence of religion. And in this light, it is to be lamented, that the more than common strict religious professor in succeeding times, hath been too often viewed by the less religious part of the community; nothing appearing to afford them more pleasure, than the real or imagined detection of any of those professors in any sin or folly.——In this unfavourable light do Lord Clarendon, and all other the writers for the royal cause represent the Parliament and its adherents; allowing them no good motive for any of their proceedings, but attributing them wholly to concealed ambition, and sinister views; and thus stigmatized, they have been handed down to the present day."—Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, by Oliver Cromwell; vol. ii. p. 400–405.

On the subject of the religious qualities of this fragment of auto-biography, it will be readily perceived, there prevails throughout the Diary, every symptom of a salutary and genuine exercise of mind, uniformly directed, in the first place, for the well-being of the Writer's own soul, next for that of his family, then on account of "the godly," but in its full scope reaching towards all of every class. Those great duties and attainments so mainly pressed upon us by our Divine Saviour while personally on earth, and which it was one main end of His appearing to enforce, are here every where upheld and sought after; such as self-denial, humility, charity, and watchfulness unto prayer. One feature, not common in productions of this kind, but which forms in the present instance a chief attraction, is *the gradual and continued enlargement in spiritual growth.* We here trace, in the unaffected outline of Jaffray's views and feelings, the intimate workings and movements of a mind, superior to those temporizing compliances with systems and parties, which

has ever proved a vast impediment to the pious and the dedicated, in their heavenly race. We see, in his narrative, to what conclusions the pure dictates of the Holy Spirit brought him, to what they tended, and how they operated on an honest, and humbled soul,—even to break down the strongest bias; as it were, to remould the man, reducing all things "to the obedience of Christ." I cannot but desire for my readers, whatever be their standing in the universal church, that they may be enabled profitably to reflect upon this feature of his case, that thus they may be favoured to arrive at just conclusions with regard to it. This individual was truly led, as "the blind by a way" that he had not hitherto "known," into paths—the *good old paths*, indeed,—but which were then newly "cast up," and "every where spoken against."

While dwelling upon the important changes, which the mind of Jaffray successively underwent, until, from the Presbyterian and Independent persuasions, he became at length wholly assimilated with the Society of Friends; I cannot but introduce the valuable and very apposite remarks of the biographer of Owen. "Every change of religious sentiment is important to the person who makes it, and ought to be gone into with caution and deliberation. To be given to change is a great evil, and indicates a weak and unsettled mind. On the other hand, to be afraid of change is frequently the result of indifference or sinful apprehension of consequences. It is the duty of every Christian, *to follow the teaching of the Spirit in the word of revelation*, and to recollect, that for his convictions he must be accountable at last. The attempt to smother them is always improper; and when successful, must injure the religious feelings of their subject. To allow hopes or fears of a worldly nature to conquer our persuasion of what the [Scripture] requires, is to forget the important intimation of our Lord,—that, if any thing is loved more than Him, it is impossible to be his disciple. By such conduct, the tribulations of the kingdom may often be avoided, but the consolations and rewards of it will also be lost. 'If any man serve me, let

him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be: if, any man serve me, him will my Father honour.' John xii. 26."—Orme's Memoirs of the Life of Owen, p. 60.

Some slight observations are yet to be subjoined, before we pass on to the subject of the second division of this volume.—It cannot be said, that the whole of what came to my hands, of the Diary of Alexander Jaffray, is now presented to the public. Some passages are omitted, as being almost repetitions of what elsewhere is better expressed; others did not seem of sufficient moment to be retained. Very small and unimportant transpositions or substitutions of words, are likewise here and there made use of, merely so far as to render the sense more plain and intelligible; it is possible, however, from the state of the MS., that I myself may have failed, though but rarely, in rendering his actual meaning. The Scripture texts are quoted as they were found; they are, I believe, strictly correct in substance, though not always after the words of our present version. Proper names of persons and places in Scotland are so variously spelt, even in some modern publications, that it was sometimes difficult to decide upon the most correct mode; the *ancient* spelling is, however, preserved in the Diary, and explained where needful in brackets; and, in the Appendix, the quotations from Scottish authorities are given with a close adherence even to the *spelling* of the dialect.

My design of a second part to the present publication, had its origin in the following circumstances.—The Diary breaks off abruptly, and only a short time before Alexander Jaffray, together with a number of his intimate associates settled in the profession of the Friends. It was to be regretted, that the narrator had not carried forward his account as far as this interesting period in his experience, or rather perhaps that such account had not been spared to us. On examining, however, more closely into the *MS. Chronicle*, which has been before mentioned as being discovered at Ury, and which treats of the Rise and Progress of the people called Quakers in the north of

Scotland, this loss appeared to be in some measure compensated, by a regular and connected detail of their history, expressly collected for the use of posterity. For although, in the course of it, no large portion has allusion to our worthy Diarist himself; yet I found, that, not only in these parts but in every other, is held up to view, *a glowing exemplification* of many of those very themes of meditation and of sentiment, upon which *he* had so largely dwelt. And besides this, on looking into the Records kept by the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Aberdeen, a remarkable fact appeared, namely, that *the Author of the Diary himself*, only a year before his own decease, *was the first to set his hand to the work of preparing this ancient document;* and that, after that event, *his son Andrew* in particular, together with "the Apologist" and others, *became a chief contributor.*

These things thus coming to my knowledge and to my charge, perhaps it was not very unnatural for me to conclude, such memorials of the just were not designed to be buried in oblivion; but were equally calculated for the service of the present, as for generations that had gone before. Neither could I, in reference to them, *divest myself of the feeling of a trust consigned to me*, (however unworthy,) *for this end*,—namely, to bear them forth, as a testimony, to the church and to the world. The religious Society of Friends has ever had a high sense of the obligation there is, to treasure up and to proclaim such evidences of the faithfulness of the Most High in his dealings with his children; and they have ever considered *themselves* as subjects and witnesses of his redeeming mercy and all-sufficient grace in Jesus Christ. In confirmation of this position, may be brought forward the language of William Penn at the beginning of his Preface to Robert Barclay's Works. "Our blessed Lord having effectually gathered and fed his people by his disciples in this generation, it is a duty we owe to God and ourselves, as well as to them, that we gather up the remainder of their testimonies of love and service, that so nothing be lost."

The foregoing being the acknowledged ground-work of the ensuing Memoirs, it may be added, that various original and other sources have been consulted in the present compilation. Besse, in forming his "Collection of the Sufferings of Friends," 1753, evidently had access to a copy of *the above Record;* and Gough, in his History, 1790, takes his chief authority from Besse; but both these accounts of the affairs of the Society in Scotland are defective and incorrect. In the arrangement of the materials for the present division of this volume, very little liberty of composition has been indulged in; so that the reader is here furnished with a faithful, and in many places almost a literal transcript of events, *oftentimes expressed in nearly the words of the eye-witnesses.* So far, then, as applies to the correctness of the details themselves, and even the mode of stating them, I consider myself divested of responsibility; at the same time, the Society of Friends, as a body, are not committed by the reflections interspersed among those details. Some of the accounts, of rather an extraordinary nature, are here represented in the light of direct Providential interpositions: and it may possibly be thought, that matters of this kind, as well as the comments upon them, had better have been wholly excluded, or at least not turned to so high an account. But, let it be observed, how much more chargeable an author would have been, himself a member of this religious community, had he been disposed to expunge from their History, a feature so well known and so fully sanctioned, not only in all their recorded annals, but in most of their standard publications.

There may also be those, who, in perusing these recollections of earlier days, would incline to think, that the unchristian conduct and principles, which appear at one time to have governed any individuals or set of men, had better not be thus revived, lest it should seem too much like *aggravating occasions of repulsion* among the followers of the same Lord. This objection, however, must apply with equal weight to all other subjects of history, and would have its parallel in every age of the church.

But, it should be distinctly understood, that the controversy of the people called Quakers never was *against any set of men, as such;* on the contrary, they always loved and esteemed that which is excellent and of good report in all; and if such classes or persons, on whom any degree of opprobrium has rested, testify against the conduct of those that have given cause for it, *their system of religious policy* is not by any means chargeable with faults, that have been disowned by them, and condemned:—although this very course has been pursued towards the Friends, by some whose character ranks well in the estimation of the public.—See Joseph Gurney Bevan's Refutation of some of the more modern Misrepresentations of the Friends.—Such instances, however, of individuals, who have in any wise failed of the grace of God, must not be expected, nor are they often allowed, altogether to go into oblivion; they more ordinarily *remain*,—as the stranded vessel or as the warning beacon,—a sea-mark to deter the ignorant or too daring mariner; nor (to drop the metaphor) would any of *these*, when brought into a penitent and reformed state, even *desire* to have it otherwise, if they are of the Apostle Paul's way of thinking on this subject. 1 Tim. i. 12 to 16.

It is, moreover, due to the memory of those, who, in the spirit of their meek and self-denying Saviour, "endured such contradiction of sinners against" themselves, that the temper and tendency of that age should be manifested;—otherwise, very superficial and incorrect notions might be readily taken up respecting them; and the peculiar line of behaviour, so uniformly observed by these true friends of the true spiritual liberty, might be greatly misunderstood. This remark leads to the notice of one trait, in particular, which has ever been, and I believe must ever be attributable to the real "Quaker," and which is strikingly apparent throughout the greater part of these Memoirs: namely, an unconceding and close adherence to that course of conduct, which their sense of duty has at any time indicated. Clarkson, in his "Portraiture" of us, has adverted to it in these words.—"It was observed, in the

time of George Fox, of the members of this Society, that they were *as stiff as trees;* and this idea concerning them has come down to the present day. The origin of this defective feature must be obvious to all. The Quakers, as we have seen, will neither pay tithes, nor perform military service, nor illuminate their houses, like other people, though they are sure of suffering by their refusing to comply with custom in these cases. Now, when individuals, few in number, become singular, and differ from the world at large, it is generally considered, that the majority are in the right, and that the minority are in the wrong. But, obstinacy may be defined to be, a perseverance in that which is generally considered to be wrong. This epithet has attached, and will attach to those, who resist the popular opinion, till men are better educated, or till they lose their prejudices, or have more correct and liberal notions on religion. The early Christians were themselves accused of obstinacy, and this even by the enlightened Pliny. He tells us, *that they would not use wine and frankincense before the statues of the emperors; and that there was no question, that for such obstinacy they deserved punishment.* In judging of this trait, two questions will arise: First, Whether the members of this Society, in adhering rigidly to those singularities which have produced it, are really wrong as a body of Christians? And Secondly, Whether they do not conscientiously believe themselves to be right? In the case of the early Christians, which has been mentioned, we who live at this day, have no doubt, that Pliny put a false estimation on their character. We believe them to have done their duty, and we believe also that they considered themselves as doing it, when they refused Divine honours to the emperors. The action, therefore, which Pliny denominated *obstinacy,* would, if it had been left to us to name it, have been called *inflexible virtue,* as arising out of a sense of the obligations imposed upon them by the Christian religion. In the same manner we may argue with respect to the Quakers."—Vol. iii. p. 248. But this candid writer, in an earlier page, has himself given the best explanation of their

motives:—and may such motives and such line of conduct ever continue to prevail individually in their hearts, and collectively in their assemblies! "It has been," says he, "an established rule with them, from the formation of the Society, not to temporize, or to violate their consciences; or, in other words, not to do that which, as a body of Christians, they believe to be wrong, though the usages of the world, or the government of the country under which they live, should require it; but rather to submit to the frowns and indignation of the one, and the legal penalties annexed to their disobedience by the other. This suffering, in preference to the violation of their consciences, is what they call '*the bearing of their testimony*,' or a demonstration to the world by *the testimony of their own example*, that they consider it to be the duty of Christians rather to suffer, than have any concern with that which they conceive to be evil. The Quakers, in putting this principle into practice, stand, I believe, alone; for I know of no other Christians, (unless it be the Moravians,) who, as a body, pay this homage to their scruples, or who determine upon an ordeal of suffering, in preference to a compromise with their ease and safety." "This noble practice of *bearing testimony*, by which a few individuals attempt to stem the torrent of immorality by opposing themselves to its stream, and which may be considered as a living martyrdom, does, in a moral point of view, a great deal of good to those who conscientiously adopt it. It recalls first principles to their minds. It keeps in their remembrance the religious rights of man. It teaches them to reason upon principle, and to make their estimates by a moral standard. It is productive both of patience and of courage. It occasions them to be kind, and attentive, and merciful to those who are persecuted and oppressed. It throws them into the presence of the Divinity, when they are persecuted themselves. In short, it warms their moral feelings, and elevates their religious thoughts. Like oil it keeps them from rusting. Like a whet-stone, it gives them a new edge. Take away this practice from the constitution of the members of this Society, and you pull down

a considerable support of their moral character."—"It is a great pity," continues this worthy and enlightened philanthropist, "that, as professing Christians, we should not more of us incorporate this noble principle individually into our religion. We concur unquestionably in customs, through the fear of being reputed singular, of which our hearts do not always approve; though nothing is more true, than that a Christian is expected to be singular with respect to the corruptions of the world. What an immensity of good would be done, if cases of persons, choosing rather to suffer than to temporize, were so numerous as to attract the general notice of men! Would not every case of suffering operate as one of the most forcible lessons that could be given, to those who should see it? And how long would that infamous system have to live, which makes a distinction between political expediency and moral right?" p. 198.

This brings me to the subject of persecution and suffering for conscience sake, of which the early history of the Friends in general, and these Memoirs in particular, present so full a series of illustrations. And on this point, I cannot but consider it of much importance, that the sentiments conveyed by Robert Barclay should be here revived, and, though at some length, brought under the notice of my readers. He observes, that the occasion which obtained reputation for Christians of old under persecution, was, *their willingness to suffer, being innocent, while by principle they precluded themselves from injuring any;* whereas, says he, "there is little reason to pity one, who is but dealt by, according as he would deal with others." Such a doctrine as this last instance involves, would make, (as Barclay proceeds to show,) "all suffering for religion, which of old was the glory of Christians, to be but of pure necessity; whereby, they are not led as lambs to the slaughter, as was the Captain of their salvation, but rather as wolves catched in the snare, who only bite not again, because they are not able, but, could they get force, would be as ready to lead those the same way, that lead them. Where is the faith and

patience of the saints? For, indeed, it is but a small glory to make a virtue of necessity, and suffer because I cannot help it. Every thief and murderer is a martyr, at that rate; experience hath abundantly proved this in these last centuries."

Having thus cleared his way, this author proceeds to show, that the true *ground of persecution* is, *an unwillingness to suffer;* "for," says he, "no man that would persecute another for his conscience, would suffer for his own, if he could avoid it; seeing, his principle obliges him, if he had power, by force to establish that which he judges is the Truth, and so to force others to it." With these preliminary remarks, may be introduced the succeeding important sentiments; and, though written before the time when Friends in Scotland had to endure a large portion of their ill-treatment, they are, nevertheless, equally and very specially applicable to the troubles, which so quickly after came upon them.——"Therefore I judge it meet, briefly to add something in this place concerning the nature of true Christian sufferings; whereunto a very faithful testimony has been borne by God's witnesses, whom he hath raised up in this age,—beyond what has been generally known or practised for these many generations, yea, since the apostasy took place. Yet, it is not my design here, in any wise to derogate from the sufferings of the Protestant martyrs; whom I believe to have walked towards God, according to the dispensation of light in that day appearing; and of whom, many were utter enemies to persecution, as by their testimonies against it might be made appear.

"But the true, faithful, and Christian suffering, is, for men to profess what they are persuaded is right, and so practise and perform their worship towards God, as being their true right so to do; and neither to do more in that, because of outward encouragement from men, nor any whit less, because of the fear of their laws and acts against it. Thus, for a Christian man to vindicate his just liberty, with so much boldness and yet innocency, will in due time, though through blood, purchase peace; as this age has in some measure ex-

perienced, and many are witnesses of it,—which yet shall be more apparent to the world, as Truth takes place in the earth. But they greatly sin against this excellent rule, that, in time of persecution, do not profess their own way so much as they would, if it were otherwise; and yet, when they can get the magistrate upon their side, not only stretch their own liberty to the utmost, but seek to establish the same by denying it to others.

"But, of this excellent patience and sufferings, the witnesses of God in scorn called Quakers, have given a manifest proof. For, so soon as God revealed his Truth among them, without regard to all opposition, or what they might meet with, they went up and down as they were moved of the Lord, preaching and propagating the Truth in market-places, highways, streets, and public temples, though daily beaten, whipped, bruised, haled, and imprisoned therefore. And when there was any where a church or assembly gathered, they taught them to keep their meetings openly, and not to shut the door, nor do it by stealth; that all might know it, and who would might enter. And as, hereby, all just occasion of fear of plotting against the government was fully removed, so this their courage and faithfulness, in not giving over their meeting together—(but more especially the presence and glory of God manifested in the meeting, being terrible to the consciences of the persecutors)—did so weary out the malice of their adversaries, that oftentimes they were forced to leave their work undone. For when they came to break up a meeting, they were [obliged] to take every individual out by force, they not being free to give up their liberty, by dissolving at their command: and when they were haled out, unless they were kept forth by violence, they presently returned peaceably to their place. Yea, when sometimes the magistrates have pulled down their meeting-houses, they have met the next day openly upon the rubbish; and so, by innocency kept their possession and ground, being properly their own, and their right to meet and worship God being not forfeited to any. So that, when armed men have come to dis-

solve them, it was impossible for them to do it, unless they had killed every one; for they stood so close together, that no force could move any one to stir, until violently pulled down: so that, when the malice of their opposers stirred them to take shovels, and throw the rubbish upon them,—there they stood, unmoved; being willing, if the Lord should so permit, to have been there buried alive, witnessing for him. As this patient, but yet courageous way of suffering, made the persecutors' work very heavy and wearisome unto them; so the courage and patience of the sufferers, using no resistance, nor bringing any weapons to defend themselves, nor seeking any ways revenge upon such occasions, did secretly smite the hearts of the persecutors, and make their chariot wheels go on heavily. Thus, after much and many kind of sufferings thus patiently borne, which to rehearse would make a volume of itself; *(which may in due time be published to the nations, for we have them upon record;)* a kind of negative liberty has been obtained, so that, at present, for the most part we meet together without disturbance from the magistrate.

"But, on the contrary, most Protestants, when they have not the allowance and tolerance of the magistrate, meet only in secret, and hide their testimony; and if they be discovered, if there be any probability of making their escape by force, though it were by cutting off those that seek them out, they will do it: whereby, they lose the glory of their sufferings, by not appearing as the innocent followers of Christ, nor having a testimony of their harmlessness in the hearts of their pursuers; —their fury by such resistance is the more kindled against them. As to the last part, of their resisting such as persecute them, they can lay claim to no precept from Christ, nor any example of him or his apostles approved." Apology, Prop. xiv. sect. 6.

A late writer on political rights and obligations, might well affirm, that "The Reformation prospered more by the resolute non-compliance of its supporters, than if all of them had provided themselves with swords and pistols." He adds, "The most severely persecuted body of Christians, which

this country has in later ages seen, was a body who never raised the arm of resistance. They wore out that iron rod of oppression, which the attrition of violence might have wetted into a weapon, that would have cut them off from the earth ;—and they now reap the fair fruit of their principles, in the enjoyment of privileges from which others are still debarred." Essays on the Principles of Morality, &c. by Jonathan Dymond.

It is, then, to a recital of such circumstances as these, under which a *small* portion of this *small* class of Protestant dissenters, had their origin and became established in the north of Scotland, that my readers are now invited.—However generally despised this class once were, however despicable they may still seem to many, and must always continue to be in the estimation of the thoughtless, the worldly, the profane,—and even in the opinion of those, who are the self-seeking and self-satisfied professors of religion ;—there is, I believe, solid ground for the assumption, that the more they adhere to *first principles*, the more uniformly and conspicuously they will prove as salt that has not lost its savour,—as a little leaven, that is calculated to diffuse its wholesome influence wherever distributed. Can any among the successors of such a people, be willingly indifferent with regard to the transactions of those times, when their predecessors, instructed and strengthened from on high, first broke through the host of impediments by which they were surrounded, and notwithstanding "a fight of afflictions," succeeded in rearing this standard of Truth among the nations? And, indeed, there are those "not of this fold," whose eyes have been truly *anointed to see;* so that they cannot but unite in the substance and general ground of that spiritual testimony, which has in a special manner been delivered to us. Some readers of this description, fully prepared to admire the unfoldings of heavenly light on the mind of Jaffray in the Diary, may, it is hoped, be led to follow him further, and with increasing interest in the Memoirs ; these will be qualified, with him and many others, to enter into the force of such an acknowledgment as the following.—"Indeed

it was great matter of satisfaction to our hearts, when the Lord turned us to his Truth, that we found it to be *no new thing*, but that which we had witnessed in the days of our former profession. For, we well remembered, that we had been acquainted with it then; and God now gives us the true and certain sense, that all the prayers, and knowledge, and understanding of the Scriptures, faith, love, zeal, meekness, patience, humility, and whatever we then had, which was dear unto us, and precious in the eye of God, *came from this Spirit of life, this principle of life which God hath now manifested to us, and turned our minds unto.*" — Penington's Letters, 2nd edit. p. 9. By such individuals, above alluded to, as well as by the Society of Friends, the several valuable epistles and other documents interspersed through their history, will doubtless be viewed as so many lively tokens of the condition of this portion of the Church of Christ; and may, I trust, be accepted as forming no unsubstantial addition to their stock of religious reading. On the other hand, those who are much strangers to us, and have been under misapprehensions as to our early proceedings or character, may very probably find many obstructing clouds cleared away from their minds by a candid perusal of these pages.

I have only, in conclusion, to add,—my sincere and earnest prayer has been unto the Author and Giver of all good, that, through his Divine blessing which can give success to the feeblest efforts, this collection may, according to the abundance of his grace in Christ Jesus, our Redeemer, redound to his own praise!

JOHN BARCLAY.

Croydon, 2nd month, 1833.

CONTENTS.

DIARY, &c.

CHAPTER I.

Page 1—12.

THE Design of Alexander Jaffray in recording his Religious Experience—The Way of the Lord with him in his Youthful Days, and the Sins and Vanity of Youth—Respecting his Conversion, with the Grounds of his Hope on this point—His Exercises of Spirit, in Desire of more full Assurance, and Victory over Sin—The Duty of Wrestling with Cheerfulness against Corruption.

CHAPTER II.

Page 13—24.

The Birth of Alexander Jaffray in 1614, and his Education at Aberdeen—1632: His Marriage with Jane Downe or Dune—He spends some time with Robert Burnet, Advocate, in Edinburgh—Takes a Journey to London—1633: Attends the Coronation of King Charles the 1st at Edinburgh—Travels to France twice—1636: Settles at Aberdeen—His lifeless Formality in Private and Public Duties—1644: The Death of his Wife—"Sir George Gordon," Laird of Haddo, violently Assaults and Imprisons him for the space of Five Weeks.

CHAPTER III.

Page 25—35.

1644: The Irish entering Scotland under Macdonald and Montrose, advance to Aberdeen; they are ineffectually opposed by the Citizens under the Lord Burleigh—Alexander Jaffray, retiring from Aberdeen, is kindly received by the Earl Marischall—Being taken Prisoner by Harthill the younger, he is kept several Weeks at Pitcaple—He is nominated on a Commission of Parliament to try Delinquents—1647: His second Marriage with Sarah Cant—The Death of his Parents—A Pestilence at Aberdeen; he being a Magistrate there—1649-50: Being a Member of the Scottish Parliament for Aberdeen, he is twice sent to Holland, with other Commissioners, to treat with King Charles the 2nd.

CHAPTER IV.

Page 36—50.

1650: At the Battle of Dunbar, Alexander Jaffray receives four wounds, and is taken Prisoner—His courteous Treatment, and Liberation; and the frequent Interviews he has with Cromwell, Fleetwood, and Dr. Owen—Writes a Paper on "the Causes of the Lord's Controversy with the Land," and on the Solemn League and Covenant, &c.—1651: He has Conferences at Edinburgh with a Meeting of Ministers and Professors: his Reflections thereon—Some Individuals at Aberdeen, in common with himself, entertain Scruples as to the Mode of administering "the Ordinances"—Conferences are held on this subject, both at Edinburgh and Aberdeen, with Rutherford, Guthrie, Gillespie, Carstairs, and others.

CHAPTER V.

Page 51—69.

1652: Alexander Jaffray is made Director of the Chancellry—1653: He becomes, with four others of Scotland, Member of the Parliament of England—He remains in the House, together with about thirty other Members, when that Assembly is broken up—Cromwell offers to make him a Judge for Scotland—He contracts much Weakness of body while in London—1656: Removes his Residence to Edinburgh—In a view of Mercies, temporal and spiritual, he resolves "to make haste and follow hard after God," &c.—On bearing the Cross; also something relative to the Sufferings of Christ—1657: The Illness of his Son Andrew—On the State of the Church.

CHAPTER VI.

Page 70—82.

1657: Alexander Jaffray commemorates the Providential kindness of the Lord to his Family—His Views and Resolutions at this period with regard to Prayer, &c.—Some Reflections on "having a Name to live," and on "Strengthening the things that remain," &c.—On "being Sober, and Watching unto Prayer."

CHAPTER VII.

Page 83—98.

1657: Remarks relating to "Integrity, Sobriety, and Modesty in the Use of Spiritual Gifts"—Thoughts on Death—The Danger of Murmuring, when Mourning—Alexander Jaffray sets apart a Day for Seeking God by Fasting and Prayer, on several accounts—The Birth of a Son; his Thoughts on that, and other Mercies of a Domestic nature—His Scruples as to "Baptizing" his Infant "in the National way."

CHAPTER VIII.

Page 99—117.

1657: Observations on Matthew, xii. 43, &c.—Encouragement from certain portions of Holy Writ—Prosperity and Adversity—Alexander Jaffray engages himself afresh unto the Lord—His Desires in Prayer on behalf of some at Aberdeen—He meets with an Accident—Uprightness in keeping from Iniquity—Journey to Aberdeen—He notices some Unwatchfulness—The Illness of his Son Andrew—He removes his Residence to Abbey Hill—Vows and Promises are vain, without Striving against Sin—1658: Comfort from some Scriptures—He is insnared in Temptation. The Death of his Son John—He recounts the manifold Mercies dealt out to him—The Birth of Twin Children—On Conformity.

CHAPTER IX.

Page 118—128.

1658: The Duty of Mortification; and that of minding the Condition of the Lord's People, &c.—Thomas Goodwin's Treatise—Observation on a Case in the Criminal Court—Qualifications of true Zeal—Allusion to a Conference between Alexander Jaffray and the "Laird of Swintoune"—Owen's Treatises on Mortification and on Watchfulness—Alexander Jaffray writes "some Reasons relative to partaking the Lord's Supper"—He laments his Unthankfulness, and reviews the Mercies bestowed on him and his Family—Recommends his Friends at Aberdeen to the Lord—Journey to Aberdeen—The Tidings of Cromwell's Death.

CHAPTER X.

Page 129—146.

1659: Alexander Jaffray visits General Monk—The afflicted Condition of the Three Nations—His own "Formality in performing Ordinances," &c.—He contemplates "saluting" General Monk on his Marching for England—His Occasions for Humiliation—1660: "The still small Voice to be heeded," &c.—On the Motions of the Flesh, and of the Spirit—Birth of a Son: his Views on having him "Baptized"—[He is committed Prisoner to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh]—On Dying daily to Temporal Delights—The Illness of several of his Children—His strong Temptations—He uses endeavours for Liberation from Prison—Petitions the Committee of Estates—The Lord Chancellor's Prejudice against him—The Light of the Lord's countenance withheld from him: he is reduced to Silence in Prayer—On Enlargement in Prayer—The Death of his Daughter Sarah—His Concern on behalf of his Son Alexander.

CHAPTER XI.

Page 147—158.

1661: Alexander Jaffray laments his dull Condition—The Voice of God in the Conscience—The Views of Alexander Jaffray, at this period, respecting the People called Quakers—The Earl of Middleton moves in Parliament for his Enlargement from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh—On Minding the Dawnings of the Light of Christ—The Occasion of his Imprisonment—He is cited to appear before Parliament—The sad Case of Professors; with his own Situation, as compared with that of Baruch, in Jeremiah, xlv. 2, &c.

CHAPTER XII.

Page 159—174.

1661: Alexander Jaffray visits some Prisoners in the Tolbooth; as Robert Trail, John Stirling, Gilbert Hall, and Alexander Moncrief—He has an interview with James Guthrie, on "the Causes of the Lord's Controversy with the Land"—His Desires on behalf of his Wife—Christ's Voice in the Heart—The Duty and Benefit of being "Quiet," and not Repining, or being Dismayed at the Lord's Way of Exercising the Soul—He obtains Access to Robert Macquare, then a close Prisoner for High Treason: his Conferences with him and other Prisoners—On Conformity to the World—"3rd July, 1661:" The Danger of setting up "Duties" in the place of Christ—On keeping close to Christ, the Fountain of Life, &c.

APPENDIX TO THE DIARY.

Page 175—223.

MEMOIRS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

Page 225—243.

1653: Rise of the Society of Friends in Scotland—Their First Meetings and Ministers—1662: Alexander Jaffray and others at Aberdeen join them—Meetings established at Inverury, Ardiharrald, and Kinmuck—George Gray—1663-4: Imprisonment of Richard Rae, George Keith, and Patrick Livingston—Alexander Jaffray summoned before the High Commission Court, examined by Archbishop Sharpe, and fined, &c.

CHAPTER II.

Page 244—256.

1664: Alexander Jaffray writes *A Word of Exhortation*, addressed to Professors.

CHAPTER III.

Page 257—276.

1665: George Keith's Ill-usage, and the Imprisonment of Alexander Forbes and others—1666: David and Robert Barclay join the Society—Some Account of them, especially of David Barclay previous to this circumstance.

CHAPTER IV.

Page 277—291.

1666: James Urquhart excommunicated by the Presbytery: a Remarkable Circumstance befalls the person who publishes this act—1667: Violence of "Sir John Keith" against the Friends—1668: Illness of Alexander Jaffray—He is imprisoned at Banff—His Address to the Bishop of Aberdeen—1669: Lilias Skene's Convincement—Her Husband, from an Opposer, becomes a Friend—1671: The Public Preachers of Aberdeen endeavour to excite the Civil Power against this People—A Synod of the "Clergy" address the King's Council against them—1672: The King's Declaration of Indulgence—Friends relieved by the Judges on the subject of Oaths—The Sudden and Dismal End of some Persecutors.

CHAPTER V.

Page 292—307.

1669: Death of Margaret Molleson—Her Daughter becomes the Wife of Robert Barclay—A Monthly and a Half-yearly Meeting established at Ury—Observations on Church Discipline; and Robert Barclay's Treatise on that Subject—1672: His deep Exercise respecting the Inhabitants of Aberdeen—Remarks on the Zeal and Care of Friends in several respects.

CHAPTER VI.

Page 308—324.

1672: The "Clergy" and the Magistrates of Aberdeen, further incensed against this People, procure the Demolition of the Walls of their Burial-ground, and the Disinterment of their Dead—Letter of William Dewsbury—John Swintoune and Robert Barclay Imprisoned at Montrose, together with some Friends at that Place, for holding a Meeting: their Address to the Magistrates—1673: Andrew Jaffray Convinced, and several more—The Provost and Magistrates of Aberdeen strenuously importune the King's Council against the "Quakers"—They are examined and fined—Hugh Neilson's disappointment as to the Fines, by a Proclamation of the Government—Death of Alexander Jaffray—His Wife's Convincement and Death.

CHAPTER VII.

Page 325—343.

1673: The Magistrates make a second Application to the King's Council, and the "Clergy" solicit Archbishop Sharpe against the "Quakers"—Proclamation against House and Field Conventicles—1674: Friends are forcibly put out of their Meeting-house—Thomas Dockery taken from Prayer to Prison, also William Gellie—Friends are Denounced by name as Rebels at the Market-cross, and their Personal Property declared Forfeited to the King—David Rait's Disturbance of them in their Meetings: His Fearful End—1675: Conference of Robert Barclay and George Keith with some College Students, Four of whom join the Society—1676: Declaration relative to Conventicles—Thirty-four Friends are Imprisoned—They are Tried by a Court of Commissioners—Their Defence, Sentence, and Treatment—Letter of Isaac Penington—Robert Barclay, visiting the Churches, on his return from Holland and Germany, Petitions the King on behalf of Friends—Further Proceedings of the Commissioners—Case of John Thomson.

CHAPTER VIII.

Page 344—358.

1676: Fines levied by Melvill—John Skene and Robert Burnett Address the Provost of Aberdeen—His Severity; and Melvill's Conduct—Patrick Livingston and James Halliday's Preaching—Further Distraints and fresh Imprisonments—David Barclay's Liberation—Letter of the Princess Elizabeth to Robert Barclay—His Imprisonment on his return home—Letter of the Princess to Prince Rupert on behalf of Friends—Melvill executes his Warrant of Distraint at Ury.

CHAPTER IX.

Page 359—370.

1676: Further Seizures and Imprisonments—Letter of Gavine Laurie to Friends—George Gray and Alexander Seaton's Treatment at Old Meldrum—Case of Alexander Chalmers and Wife—1677: Alexander Burnett, Bailie, endeavours to Incense the Commissioners against Friends—To prevent the Prisoners from Preaching, their Prison-windows are closed up—Some of them are removed to a place called *The Chapel*, others from the Lower to the Higher Prison—Their Situation and Hard Usage—A Friend of the Prisoners Addresses the Provost.

CHAPTER X.

Page 371—384.

1677: Lilias Skene's Warning to the Magistrates and Inhabitants of Aberdeen—Consolatory Letters to the Prisoners from William Penn, Richard Rae, and Hector Allane.

CHAPTER XI.

Page 385—397.

1677: Pretence, that the "Quakers" were *Popishly* affected—The King's Commissioners grant them present Relief: some of the Prisoners obtain their Liberty, others are Removed to Banff—Previous to this, Friends Address the Council, and Robert Barclay writes to Archbishop Sharpe—Misunderstanding between the Magistrates of Aberdeen and the Under-sheriff—Disgraceful Affair among the Instigators of Persecution—John Forbes, Deputy-sheriff, and the Magistrates of Banff, treat the Prisoners with great Civility—Aberdeen Prison for a short interval cleared of Friends.

CHAPTER XII.

Page 398—409.

1677: Observations on the Nature of the Testimony committed to these Witnesses of Christ—Andrew Jaffray's very unusual Exercise—Fresh Imprisonment of Friends, on account of Meetings for Worship—Case of Robert Gerard—The Firmness and Meekness of the Sufferers—Letter of George Fox "to the Suffering Friends in Scotland"—Their situation at Montrose; they are debarred, in the Winter season, from Working for their Families—Alexander Seaton Confined among them—All Passages for Light or Air closed, to hinder his Preaching to the People—Andrew Jaffray boldly Expostulates with the chief Instigator of Persecution at that Place; and is thrust into a Dungeon Vault, and cruelly Beaten—Remarkable Sense of Retributive Justice.

CHAPTER XIII.

Page 410—427.

Lilias Skene's Expostulatory Letter to Robert Macquare—1677: Robert Barclay's Second Journey to Holland and Germany: his Letter to the Princess Elizabeth—Continuance of Persecution during the Space of TWO YEARS AND A HALF—Reflections—Constancy of Patrick Livingston—1678: He, with George Gray and Andrew Jaffray, are *thrust up into the Iron-house*—The Favour and Providence of God towards the Sufferers—Archbishop Sharpe's End, with the Removal by Death or otherwise of the most active Persecutors.

CHAPTER XIV.

Page 428—438.

1681: The Harmony of Friends in some Danger—Visit of John Burnyeat—1686: David Barclay's Death—1689: Account of George Gray—His Letter to his Friends.

CHAPTER XV.

Page 439—453.

1690: Religious Progress and Latter End of Robert Barclay—Letter of George Fox to his Widow—His Character.

CHAPTER XVI.

Page 454—468.

1694: Narrative of Peter Gardiner's Visit to Friends in Scotland, with his Removal by Death.

CHAPTER XVII.

Page 469—483.

1680 to 1700: The Christian Concern and Care of Friends, during this Period, with regard to the Education of their Children, and the Administration of Church Government, &c.—Visits of Robert Barrow and John Gratton—1697: Andrew Jaffray and Robert Barclay Junior travel to the Highlands—Death of Lilias Skene and Patrick Livingston.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Page 484—502.

1699: Visit and Epistle of Samuel Watson to Friends in Scotland—1723: Memoirs of Alexander Seaton, Robert Scott, and David Wallace; also some Account of Christian Barclay and her Family.

CHAPTER XIX.

Page 503—513.

1726: Sketch of Andrew Jaffray's Life, Death, and Character, with some Account of his Family.

CHAPTER XX.

Page 514—524.

Some Observations on the State of the Society of Friends in the Present Day, occasioned by the foregoing History, and the Anticipations of their Predecessors.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS on the State of the Church at large, with reference to the successive Stages of her Reformation, and occasioned by a view of that Share and Interest, which the Society of Friends have ever taken therein. . . . . Page 525—542.

APPENDIX TO THE MEMOIRS.

Page 543—592.

DIARY

OF

ALEXANDER JAFFRAY.

A Jowrnall or Diary Wherin
Sum things are observed making
appeire the wonderfull goodnes of god
in way of providence towards
me & my Unthankfullnes &
Unanswerable walking, for
owning for the further Quick=
ling of my heart & the m
guyding hee of to Eme
for ever

Jer. 30. 21. For Who is this yt ingageth Eras-
ver he h approach unto me Saith the Lord
Psay 64. 7. Thou is non yat calleth upon they
name That stirreth the Emselfe to take
Hold of the.
Amongst the rest of sum glorious thoughts I
Cam Read on the Stephens his was one
That for the better Stirring up of & ingaging
my harte h approach unto god it might be
wisfull for abelevinge to Carefully mour=
wall m observinge of all the passages of di.
vine providence t & about Eme & his re
affid h Eme for Ugon ge is making daylie
supplicacons & puting up petic°ns to god and
at hos for the better wnderstanding of how
way Wrotht downe & often prumissed. fo
y Lrd apoynted Moses to doo Ex. 17. 14. for a me
-orrall of Amelaks destruc°on to be writt in the
booke

DIARY

OF

ALEXANDER JAFFRAY.

CHAPTER I.

THE DESIGN OF ALEXANDER JAFFRAY IN RECORDING HIS RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE—THE WAY OF THE LORD WITH HIM IN HIS YOUTHFUL DAYS, AND THE SINS AND VANITY OF YOUTH—RESPECTING HIS CONVERSION, WITH THE GROUNDS OF HIS HOPE ON THIS POINT—HIS EXERCISES OF SPIRIT, IN DESIRE OF MORE FULL ASSURANCE, AND VICTORY OVER SIN—THE DUTY OF WRESTLING WITH CHEERFULNESS AGAINST CORRUPTION.

A JOURNAL or DIARY, wherein some things are observed, making appear the wonderful goodness of God in way of Providence towards me, and my unthankfulness and unanswerable walking; serving for the further humbling of my heart, and the engaging thereof to him for ever.

JEREMIAH, xxx. 21.—"*For who is this that engageth his heart to approach unto me, saith the Lord?*"

ISAIAH, lxiv. 7.—"*There is none that calleth upon thy name, that stirreth up himself to take hold of thee,*" *&c.*

AMONG some confused thoughts I have had on these Scriptures, this was one:—that, for the better stirring up and engaging the heart to approach unto God, it might be useful for a believer to be very punctual in observing all the passages of Divine Providence [that concern] him, and those related to him, for whom he is making daily supplications and putting up petitions;—and that these, for the better remembering

of them, be written down and often perused. So, the Lord appointed Moses, Exod. xvii. 14, for a memorial of Amalek's destruction, *to write it in a book, that it might be rehearsed to Joshua.* It is observable here, that it was *Joshua* who was general when Amalek was defeated, and yet it must be *written in a book, to be rehearsed to Joshua.* Why? Because God would have him hereby engaged, upon every remembrance of this victory; and lest it should be forgotten, it must be *written.* The like charge he gives them in Deut. iv. 9, and vi. 12. And how is their forgetfulness laid to their charge, Psal. lxxviii. 11, 42, and cvi. 7, 13, 21;—they forgat their Saviour, who had done great things in Egypt.

My thoughts having stayed a little upon this subject, I resolved to set down, shortly, what I could attain to remember of the Lord's dispensations towards me, both of mercies and corrections; having weakly sought of him, that this means may be blessed, and prove effectual *for the engaging of my barren and backsliding heart to him, never to depart from him any more!*

What was his way and goodness towards me in my younger days, so slothful and sluggish have I been, that little or nothing else I remember, only if I may say with the Psalmist, xxii. 10, "I was cast upon thee from the womb: thou art my God from my mother's belly!"—and, praise to him! that by him I was "fearfully and wonderfully made," Psal. cxxxix. 14, and that he slew me not there, [as Jeremiah expresses himself,] xx. 17. It is a part of the misery of children, that they are incapable of observing God's goodness to them in their younger years. But, much more are they miserable in this,—that not only then,

but their youth and more perfect age is also, for the most part, spent in vanity and much looseness; and so was mine. Many things might I here remember, to my shame and great confusion;—which indeed have been at some times so remembered by me, to the eternal praise of the free grace and goodness of God, who I trust hath blotted them out, and freely forgiven me. And therefore, I will spare to mention them; hoping, through the blood of Jesus Christ, they shall never be remembered *to me* here, nor in the world to come;—wishing of the Lord, that the sins of my youth may be *always remembered by me*, and serve for matter of much humiliation to me all my days; as it is promised in Ezekiel, vi. 9, "And they shall loathe themselves for the sins which they have committed in all their abominations." This shame and loathing will be much upon the heart that is sensible of *God's being pacified towards it*. Ezek. xvi. 63, and xxxvi. 31.

How needful is it for young men to look back upon their young and tender years,—how these were spent in vanity, and many times in much looseness! How few are there that rightly consider how they are kept underlings in grace all their days! and temptations many times, *for this very cause*, are let loose upon them,—that they have not considered, nor rightly been humbled for the sins of their youth. It is said of the wicked, Job, xx. 11, "Their bones are full of the sins of their youth;" so may it be, many times, even with the dear children of God, if they do not advert to, and consider what they were in that time of their youth. David, in Psal. xxv. 7, prays fervently for pardon of these sins; and how few are there that consider that the very *remembering* of the sins then committed, without humiliation for them and loathing

of them, is, in the sight of God, a multiplying of the same sin upon them. See this clearly from Ezekiel, xxiii. 21 and 19.

How far are right thoughts of this matter from the consideration of many young fools, who excuse themselves from these things, as being but the tricks of their youth; and thus notably play the fool, not considering, as the wise man says, Eccles. xi. 9, that for these things God will bring them to judgment. Happy is the young man that begins early to seek after God, while his mother is his teacher, Prov. xxxi. 1; that timely inquires with the prophet, Psal. cxix. 9, wherewithal he may cleanse his way. And, for this purpose, he should not faint nor be weary, nor mistake God's dealing, if He be accustoming him to bear the yoke in his youth. "It is good," says Jeremiah in Lamentations, iii. 27, "for a man to bear the yoke in his youth," when like a bullock he is unaccustomed to it, Jer. xxxi. 18. I may, if I mistake not my case, speak something of this from my experience; and exhort my dear children to walk more warily and circumspectly in their youth than I have done. It is not enough to be of mild and *douce* natures, and blameless as to public ways before men. I thought, in some measure I could say, it had been so with me; that for many years together I had lived in a blameless way before men, and had never a thought all this while of the sins of my youth; or if there was, it was but a very overly word of confession, until I was near forty years old; and then, and ever since, how have the sins of my youth been presented to me—how many times have I been laid in the dust, upon the consideration of them! Yet—to the eternal praise of the free grace of my God, I

desire to speak it—his goodness was such to me, pitying my poor and weak condition, that I was not much troubled with thoughts of desperation; which might justly have been my case, considering how vile and loathsome a wretched creature I have been. But all this while, for some years together, there was left for me good and solid grounds to have hope in his mercy; only some vile and violent temptations, as messengers of Satan, were let loose to buffet me. And among other ends, which I conceive the Lord pointed out by these unto me, was the bringing me more solidly to remember and be humbled for the sins of my youth, than ever formerly I had been; and to make me, in his strength, seek and resolve more closely to walk with him, and to make use of that Scripture, 1 Thess. v. 22, "Abstain from all appearance of evil." O! what mercy is it, when the creature is helped rightly and timely to consider, the great advantage it will be to him, when the case *seems doubtful,* to incline to the safest hand of *abstaining;* and not only then, but to abridge himself in the extent of his liberty, not coming near to the out-most bounds of what is lawful. For, if he make use of taking liberty to come this length, he cannot long escape falling into the ditch; and how deeply he may be plunged, ere he recover again, the Lord knows. Thrice happy is he, that is helped of the Lord timely and seriously to think of this, and to make conscience of such abstinence and abridging, &c.

The goodness of God to me is in this the more to be observed,—that he was pleased while I was thus in the heat of youth, and very ignorant and grossly guilty before him, I must say, in a wonderful, and to me an inexpressible manner, to bring me from dark-

ness to light. I can neither tell the time nor place when I was converted, my ignorance of which did sometimes trouble me; it not being ordinary for great sinners to be so situated. For it seems to have been a prophecy of the times of the gospel, Psal. lxxxvii. 5, 6; so, Paul could tell all the circumstances of time, place, &c. Acts, xxii. 6, 7. He could also say, that Andronicus and Junia were in Christ before him. Rom. xvi. 7. If there was cause for Israel to remember the day of their deliverance from their bondage in Egypt, as it is commanded, Exod. xiii. 3, how much more matter have we to remember the day of our deliverance from spiritual bondage. However much this ought to be endeavoured for and aimed at by every believer; yet I durst not conclude, that therefore I was not converted, because I could not tell either the time when, the place where, or manner how it was. I [rather] concluded, and I think warrantably so, that the pressing of this too much was but a temptation, God's way in it being very various. Only, the thing which I looked upon as my duty was,—*to have the point itself made clear.* And in this, though I knew not well what to say, having much cause, by reason of much corruption, and a body of death yet unmortified in me, to fear and tremble when I *think* to speak of my being converted; yet I dare not but affirm it, to the eternal praise of his free grace, through Jesus Christ, that *he hath had mercy on me!*

For, first, I think I may say, in some measure of simplicity and sincerity of heart, that though I be sensible of exceeding much vileness and corruption in me, yet I *desire* to be holy.

Secondly, That in any measure *I was sensible I*

was vile, and that this sense for a good time together was growing with me:—here was another ground.

Thirdly, Though I dare not say that secondary and selfish ends had no place with me, in my desire to have sin subdued and holiness perfected in me—such ends, I mean, as fear of wrath and punishment here and in hell, and to eschew shame and disgrace in the world;—yet, I think I may say, (and many times had I liberty in prayer to take God to be my witness, when none but he was present)—that fear to offend so good a God—to make the wicked blaspheme his name and mock religion, (which I had avowedly made some profession of,)—fear to stumble the weaker, yea, some of the stronger Christians of my acquaintance, or that should hear of me, with whom I differed in the matters of government and constitution of the church of Christ; that they, by my fall or miscarriage, might be confirmed in their prejudice conceived against these truths, wherein I differ from them;—*fear thus to dishonour so good a God, and to offend any of his little ones*, was also *frequently*, and I hope I may say, *much* upon my heart, and a very great restraint unto me against sin.

Fourthly, Some measure of light and affection was granted, though I remain in much darkness and ignorance of God; yet, comparing my state *now* with what *formerly* it was, I cannot but, to the praise of God, acknowledge with the blind man, John, ix. 25, "*Whereas I was blind, now I see.*" [See Appendix, A.] If the Lord shall be pleased, so to continue with me the sight and sense of my vileness, as thereby to make and keep me more and more humble and low before him; and thereupon, to seek to have my dependence and walk with him more close and near

than formerly, I know I may judge this to be a very sound and sure ground.

Fifthly, Whereas I was sometimes, and naturally am, of a very sharp and censorious disposition, of a bitter and persecuting humour, especially to such as in matters of opinion differed from me; it hath pleased the Lord a little to frame my heart another way; inclining me rather *to compassion and pity those that err*, and through darkness or delusion, are, in this time of temptation, miscarried in their judgments about those matters wherein good men differ among themselves; especially when the Foundation is kept, and a conversation blameless according to the gospel, *there*, I think, much pity and charity is to be exercised. "Charity thinketh no evil:" where it *may* think good, it thinks no evil;—and I desire to extend it no further. So, this desire which I had to do the people of God service, and love to them as such—which I dare not but confess, to the praise of God, he has in some measure granted to me—that was another ground.

Sixthly, Love to and desire after *the most home-speaking and soul-searching ministry*, that discovers sin and its abominable nature most, and distinguishes and discerns best betwixt real and true grace and its counterfeit. I have been many times glad to find it so, even when the doctrine hath most opposed my corruption and idol, or the sin of my natural complexion and temper; which corruption in me I would, [according to the propensity of the unregenerate part,] most willingly have dallied with. Yet, how sorely have I been foiled again and again, after all this, by the strivings of these corruptions in me!

Seventhly, A desire I had *to be useful to God in my generation, to know the work of my generation;*

and—if I could do no more—I was willing, and sometimes was helped, *to pray for it*. The mistakes and ignorance of God's people about this, is not the least part of their judgment,—if *I* mistake not. And, that the Lord was pleased to give me *any* desire after the knowledge of his mind, in observing his wonderful way of dispensations, I count it no small mercy, and another ground or proof of his love towards me.

Though these and the like signs are good, yet, that assurance and testimony is made out but as it were in part,—it is not full and complete, without the Spirit's [express] testimony, bearing witness with our spirits that we are the children of God. Rom. viii. 16. And the Spirit (not of the world, but the Spirit of God) is given for this end—that we might know the things that are freely given us of God, 1 Cor. ii. 12: wherein, this is clearly intimated—that every believer hath the Spirit for this end given to him, that he may determine rightly betwixt the graces of the Spirit; as it follows, verse 15, "The spiritual man judgeth all things." And where this judgment cannot be thus infallibly made, there the heart is not in that good frame and approved condition it ought to be; for, "Know ye not that Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates." 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

It pleaseth my Lord, who is only wise, to keep me in a hungry, low condition; that, though I dare not say but *there is hope*, yet, how exceeding far am I from that measure and full assurance, which I desire to wait for! And, *in waiting*, I have been much assaulted, and brought nigh to the very gates of despair. Oh, what a dreadful sin is misbelief! it counts God a liar. 1 John, v. 10. When I was, many times, through renewed assaults of a busy enemy,

brought very low,—even near fainting as to the hope of victory, there was then ordinarily brought to my mind some Scriptures: a few of them I shall mention; for the consideration of them has been of much use to me.—"There hath no temptation befallen you, but such as is common to man; but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it." 1 Cor. x. 13. The faithfulness of God is engaged to make way for your escape. But misbelief said, he was long a coming. Answer: "The vision is for the appointed time, but at the end it shall speak and not lie: though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry." Hab. ii. 3. See Psal. xxvii. 14, and Isai. xxviii. 16.

A special means, by which I was [prevailed upon] the more willingly to wait, was this,—that I could not deny, but it was clearly for my advantage, even to be delayed in having granted unto me, what my soul so much sought after. For my gracious Lord was pleased to let me see, that, by leading into this wilderness, and pleading with me there, would he bring me into *the bond of the covenant*. Ezek. xx. 35, 37.

The mercies I found most obvious to my discerning, in this dispensation, were, First, That by this means, he made me study to be humble, very humble, when I saw so much cause of humiliation, so much vileness, in me.—Secondly, I was thereby drawn to pray oftener, and sometimes to set days apart.—Thirdly, I was the more convinced of the necessity of a constant, continued influence of grace from him, or be overcome.—Fourthly, That I was not already overcome, did speak clearly out that the almighty

power and arm of the Lord was to be seen in it, or I could not have resisted one assault for one moment.—Fifthly, I was by this means also, stirred up some way to seek after more close fellowship and communion with him: this thought being, in meditation one night, offered to me, and on the morrow written down,—that I should not be free of raging devils to assault, and a loose heart to give way, until I were helped to make more account of Christ's company than formerly.—Sixthly, I learned hereby, to pity others that were tempted, and to know how to speak of and to such.—Seventhly, Sometimes I was brought by this, to think a little of death, and of the happiness of *their* condition who were away, because they were not thus molested with sin.—On such accounts, did I conclude it to be my duty, not only to go on wrestling with grief and sore distress, through this miserable valley of tears, but with cheerfulness to proceed.

The consideration of these Scriptures following, afforded not only matter patiently to wait, but to desire to do it cheerfully: and I must say this, that I found it a way much blessed to me of the Lord,—and so shalt thou, if thou rightly essay it. See Psal. xxvii. 14, where *waiting on the Lord* is joined with *good courage*. He gives those much that thus wait on him; more than ear can hear of, or eye can see, has he prepared for them that wait for him, Isai. lxiv. 4; and it is added, that he *meets* them that *rejoice*. See how, in Deut. xvi. 14, 15, the people are *commanded* to rejoice, and in xxviii. 47, how they are threatened with wrath for not doing it: surely, whoso attains rightly to act in this duty, so to rejoice as to do it "evermore," 1 Thes. v. 16; and yet to fear always, Prov. xxviii. 14, he shall find *the joy*

of the Lord to be his strength, as it is promised in Neh. viii. 10.

And, as this is the way much recommended, so hath it been blessed with success unto the saints in all ages. When they were brought to the greatest extremity of difficulties, then did they take comfort and rejoice in the Lord; and when all help failed, *he* was a strong tower of refuge unto them; for he waits to be gracious, Isai. xxx. 18, and his eye runs through all the earth, seeking to show himself so, 2 Chron. xvi. 9. See it made good in David's experience, 1 Sam. xxx. 6, when he was brought to the greatest strait that ever he was in, it is then said, he *encouraged himself in the Lord his God*, and went on and got victory over all his enemies. And in Hab. iii. 18, "Although the fig-tree shall not blossom, nor fruit be in the vines," &c. he concludes, albeit all the course of nature, and heaven and earth, should fall and turn upside down, "yet will I rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of my salvation." So are we exhorted to do in Isai. l. 10, when we are in darkness and have no light, as the child of God may be, then is he to "trust in the name of the Lord, and stay himself on his God." Asa did thus, in a great strait, 2 Chron. xiv. 11, and found blessed success; and so, in these two notable places of Isaiah it is promised, chap. xli. 17, to the poor and needy, when their tongue fails them for thirst, then will God hear them; and, chap. xl. 30, 31, "They shall renew their strength, and mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary, and walk and not be faint;" and, chap. lix. 19, "When the enemy comes in like a flood, *then* the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him."

CHAPTER II.

THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER JAFFRAY IN 1614, AND HIS EDUCATION AT ABERDEEN—1632: HIS MARRIAGE WITH JANE DUNE—HE SPENDS SOME TIME WITH ROBERT BURNET, ADVOCATE, IN EDINBURGH—TAKES A JOURNEY TO LONDON—1633: ATTENDS THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST AT EDINBURGH—TRAVELS TO FRANCE TWICE—1636: SETTLES AT ABERDEEN—HIS LIFELESS FORMALITY IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC DUTIES—1644: THE DEATH OF HIS WIFE—"SIR GEORGE GORDON," LAIRD OF HADDO, VIOLENTLY ASSAULTS AND IMPRISONS HIM FOR THE SPACE OF FIVE WEEKS.

THE way of God with me, before, as well as since my conversion, (if I may so speak,) hath been full of kindness and love:—he saw and loved me, while I was cast out and lying in my blood. Ezek. xvi. 6.—Being born at Aberdeen, in the month of July, 1614, I was bred at [the grammar] school there by my parents, and sometimes with my uncle [of] Pittodrie, and at Banchory under Gilbert Leslie, Mr. David Wederburne, Mr. Alexander Strachan, and Mr. Robert Dewine, as school-masters. This was the evil and inconvenience of these times to me, that occasioned my little profiting:—I had, through the indulgence of my parents, too much liberty, in being sent here and there, from school to school,—as also the little care of these men who had charge over me; some of them being openly scandalous, and none of them having much profession of religion, except Mr. Robert Dewine, and he having so little natural prudence, that he was not very capable to teach and educate children in the fear of God, nor yet careful, making

conscience of their education in letters. My parents, —though in every thing they were most tender, and evidenced much love and respect to me,—yet, not being themselves much acquainted with the great advantage there is in breeding young ones timely in the fear of God, and keeping them closely and diligently at their studies,—in this they were some way deficient. And I am likely myself to fall into the same fault, which will be much more inexcusable in *me* than in *them;* their breeding being very different from mine, and especially considering the opportunities I have had, both at home and abroad.

Yet the goodness of my God was such, that all this while he was watching over me, so that I was preserved from falling into any scandalous, known sin. Having formerly some way expressed what I desire may be for ever kept upon my heart of other guiltiness, I shall say nothing of these here; my good God having pardoned them, I purpose not to give Satan advantage any more to accuse me of them. Only some few things I shall [revive,] wherein, as the goodness of God and his loving providence towards me may be remembered, so may I be made more and more sensible of my unthankfulness, and unanswerable walking to such mercies wonderful and rich deliverances!

Having spent divers years very idly, from the time of my first entry at the grammar-school, which was, as I suppose, about the ninth year of my age,—sometimes with my uncle [of] Pittodrie in the Gorioch, and in Buchan, where I had no occasion to learn any good thing, and for one year or two at the school in Banchory; by this unfixed and unsettled way of getting too much liberty, I lost much, especially in at-

taining a knowledge of the Latin tongue. About the middle of the year 1631, being then about seventeen years of age, I came from the school in Banchory to the College, where, passing the first class, having *made the manner* to learn some Greek in Banchory, I entered to my logics under Mr. Hugh [or Howe] Gordon, regent, and Dr. Dune, then principal, who were both of them unfit for training up youths, so that I had no good example from them.

Having staid a short time in the College, and profited as little, I was, in the month of April, the last day thereof, in the year 1632, married to Jane Downe [or Dune,] being then eighteen years of age. It hath been sometimes thought upon, as a thing for which I owe much praise and thankfulness to God, when I consider, that the motives and ends of my parents in this marriage were not right, but carnal and worldly;—and so brutish and senseless was I, that I never minded nor sought God in the matter, but went on in blindness as they directed me, not ever considering the Lord's mind in it, nor the qualities of the person with whom I was to join. And yet, such was the goodness of my God unto me, that in this [engagement] he directed me well, whereas he might have made the circumstance a cross and curse to me; but it pleased him to bless it, giving me not only much contentment of a meek and quiet yoke-fellow, who, all the time of our being together, was very comfortable and pleasing to me;—*even this*, is matter of very great mercy, for which I ought to praise God. There was also more in it; for, I trust I have good grounds to say, that the seeds of grace in good measure were begun to be sown in her heart,—as her sober and Christian carriage during her life witnessed, but

more especially God's presence with her at her death, which hereafter I shall mention, as it occurs in the story of my being violently withdrawn at that time, and taken from her.

Some twenty days after my marriage, I went to Edinburgh, my father thinking fit to send me there for some time, where I staid the space of five or six weeks. And here I am obliged to remember, the kind respect I met with from my worthy friend Mr. Robert Burneit, [Burnet] advocate, who kept me much of that time in his house, where I had good occasion to hear and see some good things; not only to learn some things of the law and practice of the Tolbooth, but some things as to the practice of holiness and charity, especially of observing the Sabbath-day, for the neglect of which he ofttimes challenged and reproved me. [See Appendix, B.]

About the end of July, (I having come there in the beginning of June,) my father advertised me, that it was his purpose to send me, with Robert Skeine and Andrew Birnie, two merchants of Aberdeen, to London, to see the country; and desired me to make ready, against their coming to Edinburgh, to go with them. But I resolved, I would first see my wife; and presently came from Edinburgh to Aberdeen, where I staid only about the time of eight days, and so went for London. I went by the way of Leeds and Wakefield, and there had occasion to see the form of their buying of Yorkshire cloth. I staid at London only the space of twenty days or a month, and in September or thereabouts returned home.

In the month of January, 1633, the King being then to come to Edinburgh to be crowned, I went over and attended that ceremony. [See Appendix, C.]

In July thereafter I came home, my wife being, before my coming, brought to bed of her first son, called Alexander. Shortly thereafter, I went again to London, in company with Robert Skeine, Andrew Birnie, and George Jamieson. [See Appendix, D.] I staid some time longer, and . . . . . on my return, went off the road, and visited the University of Cambridge by the way.

In September, 1634, I went to France; and there staid in Caen in Normandy, for the space of three months; in which time, I learnt so much of the French language, that I was able to travel without a guide. From Caen I went to Rouen, and from thence to Paris, where I staid for the space of two or three months; from thence I returned to Rouen, and so to Dieppe, and in the month of June I landed in Leith. In September thereafter I went again to France, and staid five or six months, most part of the time in [Neufchatel,] dispatching some . . . . ., and had them with me, and made some . . . . . ., but to very little purpose. [See Appendix, E.]

In these my two journies to France, many things of the goodness and kind providence of God towards me, might have been observed. These few only, for the present, occur to my memory. I was wonderfully preserved by sea, both going and coming, and during my abode in the country:—and more especially was I preserved from the sins of drunkenness and [licentiousness,] whereunto there was there great provocation. Having so much liberty and a full purse, (for I wanted not [inclination] to spend, my nature being as perverse and vile as any,) and having these occasions of provocation administered, I have often since thought it a great mercy and wonder, that I was kept from

open scandal and out-breaking. This hath many times given me occasion to think of recommending to my children, not to venture upon such a way of travelling abroad, until they have first attained to some more experience, especially in the knowledge of God and the fundamentals of religion. Without this, to travel to France or elsewhere, as I did, and most part of young men do, is to expose them, not only to the hazard of being tempted to all abominable vices, but to be insnared in the abominable and gross errors of Popery. Therefore, it were expedient for young men not to go there, before they were well grounded in the knowledge of God, and were in some measure acquainted with the controversies; and, if their condescension may allow it, to have a wise governor with them were of great use; and next to that, good company will be to them of much benefit, whereof there would be had special care. Next to these, bodily dangers on highways are mostly to be feared and shunned, especially in travelling late in the country or city, but chiefly in Paris. It pleased the Lord very wonderfully to deliver me from some perils of this kind in Paris, where I was very near losing my life, being wounded in my left hand and in my back by a drunken soldier; but the Lord delivered me by the help of two gentlemen, whom I knew not. And thirdly, the danger of being cheated, in borrowing or lending money, is ordinary to young men there, and of being too prodigal in spending upon clothes and other such like things; for afterwards, when a more retired life is taken up, there is commonly much repentance and regret for these things.

Being the second time returned from France, in the end of the year 1635 or beginning of 1636, about Whit-

sunday in that year, I entered to dwell by myself; all the time before that, having staid in my father's house, where my wife most easily supported to be with my parents, and grudged neither at her long stay with them, nor at my long absence; for of these first three years after my marriage, I was not with her one of them at home. [A passage is here omitted respecting his father's behaviour towards him, &c.]

Albeit at this time, I mean, when I took up my own house, I was about the age of twenty-two years, yet I was very ignorant; not only in the things of God, which in the first place I have much matter to regret, but also even in the things of civil and private concernment, as to the management of the affairs of my estate and family; so that, within some few years, I had not only spent the rent of what was my estate, but four or five thousand merks of the stock. Some few things I think fit here to express, of which had I been timely advertised, and had well adverted to them, might have been much to my advantage in spiritual as well as temporal things; in both which, through my sloth and ignorance, I suffered.

My ignorance of God made me slow in seeking to him, and unclose in my walking with him, in my private conversation and in my family; performing duties, whether in a more private or public manner, but very seldom and superficially,—though I durst not omit doing them, yet there was nothing more than a resting on that, either on the week or sabbath days.

I desire here to admonish my children, to beware of this lifeless formality and laziness, but to be diligent in seeking God in private, morning and evening. Not that I intend a tying up to particular hours; there may be much formality and a snare in that;

and yet there should be diligent heed taken, that, whilst the evil of this be shunned, another snare be not run upon, that of growing slack and negligent in prayer. Though I dare not peremptorily tie to hours in the day, yet that day, in which God is not more than once sought to by prayer, is not well spent. This neglect should be diligently adverted to, not only that the duties of prayer, reading the Scriptures, and conference upon it, be performed in private; but also together with thy family, and more particularly at some times with some of thy family apart, having observed the disposition and temper of thy wife, children, or any servant that is seeking God. To admonish and exhort them, is looked on by every godly man as a duty; but, few think of praying with any or every one of them apart, which, doubtless, would be found a blessed means of doing much good, and is promised as a blessing to the families under the gospel. Zech. xii. 12, 13. The right performance of such duties, in a conscientious and loving way, would make more reverence, love, and comfortable fellowship to be among all sorts of relations, which many times is wanting; God either justly depriving, even sometimes his own children, of the comfort of these enjoyments, or imbittering them with many sour fits of distempered passions, for their neglect of conversing in this spiritual way together.

[Here follow some recommendations to his children, as parents of families, resulting from, or as he expresses it, verified by his own experience of the benefit of them; namely, on meditation and prayer, on conference, and catechising the members of their families, attending the public ordinances of religion, and frequenting special meetings for religious con-

ference; also taking down sermons, and enlarging on them. The Diary then proceeds.]

. . . . . Commonly, in reading books of religion or of human story, I found most profit, by so pondering and digesting what I found most to speak to my condition, or that might be most useful to me thereafter, so as to put it in writing shortly, in some notes in a little book I carry along with me.

[After this, the writer informs us, how ignorant he was, up to the time of his father's death, of the state of his father's property and affairs, and "what was likely to come" to him, &c.; with some observations on the propriety of keeping clear and correct accounts, &c.; but adds, that his main design in this book is more to spiritual subjects, and "the observation of the goodness of God, *for the engaging of my heart to him.*"]

In the year 1644, the 19th day of March, or thereabout, it pleased God to remove my wife by death; which was hastened, much to my grief, by the Laird of Haddo taking me prisoner out of my own house, the occasion of which was as follows:—Some time before that, I committed a servant of his to prison for a riot done in Aberdeen. Thereafter he pursued me near to Kintore, [about twelve miles from Aberdeen,] for my life; after some strokes had passed between us, he left me wounded in the head and my brother John in the arm, for no other cause than is mentioned above. After this, I having pursued [prosecuted] him, obtained the laws of the country, the riot being proved; and he not compearing, was declared fugitive, and fined in twenty thousand merks, whereof fifteen thousand to the State, and five thousand to my brother and me. [See Appendix, F.]

The country being then in a loose and broken condition, he joining with his chief, the Marquis of Huntly, declared themselves enemies to the State, and took up arms for their defence. The first act of his appearing was at Aberdeen, with the Laird Drum the younger, [son of Sir Alexander Irvine,] where he took captives myself, my brother John, Mr. Robert Farquhar, and Patrick Leslie, and carried us to Strathboggie, where we were kept. Ten or twelve days after, we were sent to Auchindown Castle, and kept there five weeks close prisoners; until, by the Marquis of Argyle's coming north, the Marquis of Huntly and his friends quitted the field; himself came to Auchindown, where any little treasure he had was; and fearing that the keeping of us prisoners might have drawn some siege to that house, he dismissed us. We were, by him and his order, very cruelly used all the time of our imprisonment. The quarrel he alleged against us, was, that we were Covenanters, and had given bad information against him and his friends. [See Appendix, G.]

We being dismissed by him, went first to Murray, where we were kindly received by our friends there; thereafter to Keelie [Kelly,] the Laird of Haddo's house, about which the Marquis of Argyle and his forces were then lying. The house being rendered, I had leave to go in with an order to the Laird, to render to me some rights, [that is, writs or writings,] and my wife's rings and chains, and some other silver work he had taken from me at my seizure in Aberdeen; the most part of which, afterwards, I had back from him. I spoke my mind to him there some way freely, exhorting him to repent for the wrong done to me;—especially that great wrong, above all the rest,—

his fury and violence in taking me, by which he had hastened the death of my dear wife, who, within three or four days after my being taken, departed this life. I was married to her twelve years, during which time I had very much contentment, she being a most kind and loving wife; she bore me ten children, whereof there is but one now living, called Alexander; he was baptized by Mr. Andrew Cant, [one of the ministers of Aberdeen,] the 17th day of October, 1641. As her life was blameless before the world, so was she beginning to be a serious seeker of God, and departed this life, having given good evidences of her hope of a better:—as was testified to me by the ministers and other Christians of that place, who were much comforted with her Christian expressions, especially with her free and most Christian exhortations to her uncle Dr. Dune the elder, and other her friends and mine. I desire, upon every remembrance of her, to be thankful to the Lord, who so ordered me in my choice; though I was then so ignorant, that I remember not if I sought it of him,—but his goodness in this, as in many things more, did prevent me.

In that contest I had with the Laird of Haddo, I was wonderfully delivered from extreme danger. The first time that we encountered near Kintore, he fired two pistols at me, one after another, being then within twice the length of his horse from me; both of them misserved; whereat he was in great fury, alleging, they had never done the like before. And that same night, in Old Aberdeen, to try them if they would misserve again, he put out the candle at which he shot. The other time was that day when he took me prisoner: he, having entered my father's study, fired a pistol at me from the window, whence

he pursued me in another study. Just opposite to the window where he was, that pistol also misserved, at which he cursed, alleging, he would never get me felled. I knew nothing of this second attempt, before he himself told it me in Aberdeen, as he was going prisoner to Edinburgh, sent by the Marquis of Argyle, after the taking of his house.

CHAPTER III.

1644: THE IRISH, ENTERING SCOTLAND UNDER MACDONALD AND MONTROSE, ADVANCE TO ABERDEEN; THEY ARE INEFFECTUALLY OPPOSED BY THE CITIZENS UNDER THE LORD BURLEIGH—ALEXANDER JAFFRAY, RETIRING FROM ABERDEEN, IS KINDLY RECEIVED BY THE EARL MARISCHALL—BEING TAKEN PRISONER BY HARTHILL THE YOUNGER, HE IS KEPT SEVERAL WEEKS AT PITCAPLE—HE IS NOMINATED ON A COMMISSION OF PARLIAMENT TO TRY DELINQUENTS—1647: HIS SECOND MARRIAGE WITH SARAH CANT—THE DEATH OF HIS PARENTS—A PESTILENCE AT ABERDEEN; HE BEING A MAGISTRATE THERE—1649-50: BEING A MEMBER OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT FOR ABERDEEN, HE IS TWICE SENT TO HOLLAND, WITH OTHER COMMISSIONERS, TO TREAT WITH KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

Shortly after this, [namely, in 1644,] the Irish that entered Scotland under Alester Macdonald and Montrose, having come the length of Aberdeen, were fought by a regiment of the country soldiers, under the command of the Lord Burghly [or Burleigh,] accompanied with some country gentlemen, and most of all the citizens of Aberdeen; where about seven or eight score men, besides women and children, were killed. I was at that time in no small hazard, having staid too long on the field, after our men began to run; yet it pleased God to deliver me. Being very evilly horsed, I was well near among the Irish hands; yet, by the good providence of God, I escaped, carrying a pair of colours with me, which I had taken from one of our soldiers, who was casting the same from him in the flight.

Thereafter, the country being so loose and broken, I could not safely stay at Aberdeen, so went with sun-

dry other honest families to Dunnotter, where we were very kindly received by the Earl Marischall, having house-room from him, and our entertainment from Aberdeen and Stonehaven. One day, having gone with Mr. Andrew Cant to Crathes, to visit his son Mr. Alexander; on our way back, we were encountered by the Laird of Harthill the younger, who was then returning from the battle of Kelsyth, where Montrose had gained the sixth and last battle he had over Scotland. We were by the said Harthill and the Laird of Newton Gordon taken prisoners, (Mr. Andrew Cant, my brother Thomas, and I,) after very much threatening presently to have killed us,—especially I was threatened, as being guilty, they alleged, of Haddo's death, who had been executed for his rebellion against the State. Yet it pleased the Lord to restrain their fury. We were that night kept prisoners at Aberdeen, and the morrow carried to Pitcaple, where we were left under the custody of one Petrie Leathe, brother to old Harthill. Many things might I remember, that would be too tedious here to insert; only some few I shall point out, wherein the Lord's goodness, and his wonderful hand in delivering us, did most eminently appear. [See Appendix, H.]

As first, at our taking, where they with great fury and main fearful oaths did threaten sore, yet not one hair of our heads did fall to the ground. Secondly, all the time of our being prisoners, which was for the space of either five or seven weeks, though they were a company of as vile, profligate men as any I did ever see; yet was there so much restraint laid on them, as that they carried themselves civilly before us. And sometimes some of them were content to be

present at our private exercise of God's worship, morning and evening, which was constantly performed by that gracious and worthy man Mr. Andrew Cant, who on the Lord's day occasionally preached publicly in the great hall; sometimes all of them were present, and had something like convictions at the hearing of the word, which was preached unto them with much boldness and freedom. Yet did they go on, in the frequent practice of their drunkenness and abominable vices; so that we, being very weary of their company, frequently would project and talk among ourselves of ways to escape. At last, we attempted a very desperate-like piece of service, which, had it not pleased the Lord in a wonderful manner both to give us courage and success more than ordinary, we could never in any probability have been able to have carried through. But,—to the praise of the majesty of the Lord, let it be said, as an obligation for ever to be upon me!—I was, that twenty-four hours during which we kept the house, wonderfully assisted and borne out with more activity and courage; so that, in the most dreadful times of our danger, while we were almost in the very jaws of death, I had not any sense of danger or fear.

One day in the afternoon, all the men except two being abroad, whereof one was an old decrepid body, we resolved to go and shut the gate. Having had advertisement that some of our friends, commanded by Major General Middleton, were that night at Aberdeen, having come north after the battle of Philiphaugh, [which took place on the 13th of the month called September;] we were confident, that if we could get possession, and maintain the house till the morrow morning, our friends would before that time

be at us for our relief. We having gone down, (I and my brother Thomas, with a soldier of Middleton's, whom the garrison had taken straggling from his colours,) found, by our expectation, two as able men as any in the company, standing in the very passage of the door, being about the flaying of an ox, which they had lying within the door. I being first, when I saw them, began to think of returning, but fearing that they would espy what we were about by the others following me, I resolved to go forward; and was much encouraged, by their withdrawing a little without the door, to make sharp their knives for the work they were about. Finding them without, though they were close at the door, we went down and offered to make it fast, which at last with much ado we got done. Then, having full possession of the house, we made fast the iron gate, and put ourselves in a posture of defence. The rest, being advertised, came about the house, and so continued until night. By reason of their being there, one of our servants, who had undertaken to give advertisement to our friends at Aberdeen, that they should come for our relief, was forced to lie and hide himself all that day, so that it was the morrow at nine hours before he came to Aberdeen—and then our friends were gone. So our help that way was disappointed; but the Lord provided for us another way.

The Laird of Leslie the younger, having advertisement from the country people, that we had taken the house, gave advertisement to some friends, who came on the morrow by one or two hours in the afternoon. The Lord Frisell, the Laird of Echt, Colonel Forbes, with the number of thirty horse or thereabout, and fifty or sixty foot. This was very observable, that as

they came without any advertisement from us, so did they come in the most seasonable time, when we were well near spent, having been pursued very sharply from nine hours until then. After we had beat them several times off, and killed one of them, at last they were driving through the wall, at a place where we could get no sight of them; and when they were almost gotten fully through, then our friends came, when we were even fainting and going to give over. We received our friends, and entertained them the best we could; and parted that night with them, having set our prison on fire, it not being tenable. [See Appendix, I.]

Thereafter, we went to Dunnotter, and from thence to St. Andrew's, where the Parliament was then to sit; and having returned home to Aberdeen, I was called to sit as one of a Committee [of Parliament,] for borrowing of money and censuring delinquents. We sat at Dundee for the space of three months, and proceeded too rigorously in these things committed to us; and sometimes since, I have had some desires to repent for that unwarranted zeal. [See Appendix, J.]

Shortly after this, namely, in the year 1647, the 4th day of May, I married my wife Sarah Cant, who now lives, [daughter of Andrew Cant before mentioned.] What mercies we enjoy, as the blessing of God upon our marriage, how long we may enjoy them, and what use we shall make of them, the Lord give us rightly to know and thankfully to acknowledge; lest abused mercy may draw sad strokes out of God's hand. She hath borne to me five sons and three daughters; whereof at present there are only three living. The eldest, called Andrew, was born the 8th day of August, 1650; the second, called Rachel, was born

the 28th July, 1653; the third, called John, was born the 22nd December, 1654.

From this forth, I shall mention what mercies I may remember, what mercies my wife, my children, or any in my family received; for what any of them received, ought to engage and oblige my heart to my God, as much as if they had been to myself.

[The writer then commemorates "the manifold goodness and singular providence of God," on several occasions of "great extremity," during his wife's confinement with some of her children, when "he was pleased to vouchsafe preservation and help in a wonderful manner, in answer to prayer."]

Having omitted to mention my father's and mother's death, I shall touch a little on them here. My mother, having lived twenty-nine years after her marriage with my father, departed this life the 28th September, 1640; my father being then in Edinburgh. After his coming home, he lived in his own house until Whitsunday thereafter; when he was pleased to call me to enter home with my family to his house; he promising to pay me whatever sum should be spent more when we were together, than I spent when I was apart by myself. We lived together thus for the space of three years and a half; until, in the end of the year, 1644, the Irish having, after the fight at Aberdeen, so spoiled his house, that he had no plenishing [furniture] left him; and then he did board himself and me, with one servant to attend him, in the house of our cousin Alexander Burnet the elder, where he and I entered in November, and staid November, December, and the beginning of January, 1645. He took sickness, and died the 10th day thereof, in his own house. He was much

reformed, and withdrawn from company-keeping in taverns, before his death; and I trust he found mercy, and died in favour with God and men. He was a very kind and loving father unto me all his life; and so did he give much evidence of it at his death, as may yet appear by his testament, where he puts much power in my hand in dealing with the T . . . . [town;] and also much confidence in his hopes of my being kind to them; in which I hope, through the strength of Christ, never to deceive him. Yet was he, during his even time, very strict in counting with me; but at his death supplied all very fully, according to his power. I have sometimes, since his death, observed God's goodness, in directing me in walking so with my father, as that I gained his affection much, which moved him to deal so kindly with me in the end. In worldly things, though he dealt something strictly with me, I never troubled at it; but having sometimes made my condition known to him, and, with much circumspection and fear to offend, told him, that I thought he had dealt strictly with me; still I referred all to himself, which was the only way that gained him. Whereas, if I had contended with him, he being a very passionate man, it is likely he might have disinherited me, or have taken some such course. Another particular of my carriage much engaged his affection to me: he, having some little time before his death a purpose to marry, thought that I should not have assented thereto, and have hindered it what I could; but when he found it otherwise, that I was fully consenting, it made him the more to regard me, and the less the purpose he was about. Whereas, if I should have opposed him, I knew well it would have made him run to it the

faster. Yet I had other, and more worthy considerations, moving me to consent, which I spare here to mention; but the Lord ordered it well, &c. [See Appendix, K.]

In the year 1647, the pestilence raged in Aberdeen for the space of five or six months. All this time, my family was preserved; which was the more observable, as I was every day among the sick people, being a magistrate: for the time, I removed to Kingswells. [See Appendix, L.]

In the year, 1649, I being then a member of Parliament for the town of Aberdeen, was sent unto Holland, with the Earl of Cassles, Lord Brodie, and Lord Libertone, for to treat with and bring home our young King. I shall spare to mention many things, for shortness: only, by the way, I must observe this, that having gone there in the simplicity of our hearts, minding what we conceived to be duty, it pleased the Lord to bring us safely off without any snare or entanglement. But, being again sent there by the Parliament, in the year 1650, for that same business, we did sinfully both entangle and engage the nation and ourselves, and that poor young prince to whom we were sent; making him sign and swear a covenant, which we knew, from clear and demonstrable reasons, that he hated in his heart. Yet, finding that upon these terms only, he could be admitted to rule over us, (all other means having then failed him,) *he* sinfully complied with what *we* most sinfully pressed upon him:—where, I must confess, to my apprehension, *our* sin was more than *his* . . . . . [Here, one leaf of the MS. is evidently *torn out*, containing nearly as much as one page of this letter-press.] . . . . . and knew well, that what he was doing, was

but through plain force and constraint. In this, he was not so constant to his principles as his father, in yielding to this act of so gross dissembling: but his strait and our guiltiness was *the greater*, especially [that of] some of us,—I mean especially by myself, who had so clear convictions of this to be wrong, *that I spoke of it to the King himself*, desiring him not to subscribe the Covenant, if in his conscience he was not satisfied,—and yet went on to close the treaty with him, who, I knew so well, had for his own ends done it against his heart. But I may say,—so did I desire him to do it against mine,—so weak and inconstant was I; being overcome with the example and advice of others, gracious and holy men, that were there, whom in this I too simply and implicitly followed,—choosing rather to suspect myself in my judgment to be wrong, than theirs. But the Lord taught me, in this, and in things of that nature, not so implicitly to depend on men.

What the sad effects and bitter fruits of that business hath been,—I shall spare to mention,—*that* not being the business I intend here. Only, I think, the Lord hath very justly reproved us, and the whole nation,—especially the leading men of church and state,—for so much prevarication; in pretending to be for his glory, in carrying on his work; while, it may be evident as the light, what the design of that second message was,—in sending for and closing with *him*, whom we knew, to be no less opposite to the carrying on of any work for God's glory, than ever his father was. But the English, having disappointed so far our expectation, in carrying on the work of union and uniformity in the three nations, conformably to the model and design of Scotland,—

so cunningly plotted and contrived in the League and Covenant,—were likely, in establishing both civil and ecclesiastical affairs, to carry it plain contrary another way than was intended and hoped for;—wherein the Kirk, (as we call it,) was likely to suffer not a little. For, instead of Presbytery being established, in the way of the Kirk of Scotland, whereby *they* might rule all, there was likely to be set up a lawless liberty and toleration of all religions; whereby *they* would be altogether disappointed, and rendered incapable to rule in any thing, either in church or state,—but merely such, in church affairs, as willingly should submit to them. To prevent this deluge and overflowing scourge, as it was then thought to be,—the prevailing of the Sectarian army,—no means was thought to be so fit, as to bring home our King; otherwise, it was conceived inevitably to follow, that both Monarchy and Presbytery would be ruined. And so, the leading men both of church and state, however otherwise divided among themselves, are unanimously joined in this. Most of the royal party and Presbyterians in England, being in this no less concerned, their concurrence was confidently looked for,—as in the issue it did appear.

But, how has the Lord overturned all these contrivances and devices of men's wits, for upholding their own devices and inventions! *his* work, and the glory of it, being, as of another kind, so to be brought about in another manner:—this we might have seen, had our eyes been opened—dear-bought and precious experience gives us now to know it. Having said enough [on the subject,] it was my purpose to leave it; but that I find myself obliged to remember

one passage relating to this business, wherein the Lord's goodness and sincerity did both so eminently appear to me, that I desire my heart may be ever kept in memory of it while I live. [See Appendix, M.]

CHAPTER IV.

1650: AT THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR,, ALEXANDER JAFFRAY RECEIVES FOUR WOUNDS, AND IS TAKEN PRISONER—HIS COURTEOUS TREATMENT, AND LIBERATION; AND THE FREQUENT INTERVIEWS HE HAS WITH CROMWELL, FLEETWOOD, AND DR. OWEN—WRITES A PAPER ON *"THE CAUSES OF THE LORD'S CONTROVERSY WITH THE LAND,"* AND ON THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, &c.—1651: HE HAS CONFERENCES AT EDINBURGH WITH A MEETING OF MINISTERS AND PROFESSORS: HIS REFLECTIONS THEREON—SOME INDIVIDUALS AT ABERDEEN, IN COMMON WITH HIMSELF, ENTERTAIN SCRUPLES AS TO THE MODE OF ADMINISTERING "THE ORDINANCES"—CONFERENCES ARE HELD ON THIS SUBJECT, BOTH AT EDINBURGH AND ABERDEEN, WITH RUTHERFORD, GUTHRIE, GILLESPIE, CARSTAIRS, AND OTHERS.

THE King being come home, we were not well landed, when England was on our border with an army, to succour themselves against our invading them. It is not my purpose here to speak to that business, or the unwarrantableness of it, or of our defence and the lawfulness of it; but the thing I aim at is,—to remember (and, O that I could do it with a heart rightly thankful!) the just severity and yet merciful dispensation of my blessed Lord, who, by a very sad blow at that battle of Dunbar, the 3d day of September, 1650, brought me to the very gates of death;—my horse being shot under me, and I having received two wounds in my head, one in my right hand, and another in my back. So good was the Lord unto me,—that, albeit for my manifold guiltinesses, and particularly for my accession to and compliance in that matter of our acting about our King, he might have left me *there*,—and for ever to his wrath in

hell; yet—glory to his name!—*that* guiltiness was blotted out, and all my sins pardoned through Jesus Christ. But, thereby was I called to remember my folly, and to look back and examine my ways since my infancy; I having that day got again, as it were, a *new take* of my life *for this end,—to hold it upon a new account,—of the Lord, and for him.* And more particularly was I then called to re-examine my way and miscarriages in the matter of that negotiation, and to be more humbled for them before the Lord;—I being preserved from the fury of those who first encountered me in the field, I may say, very wonderfully. Having gotten three of the wounds afore mentioned, while the fourth stroke was coming to have made an end of me, the hand that drew it was diverted, before he could bring his sword from his shoulder, which he was drawing with great passion, to my throat, who was then lying on the ground, not recovered since my horse fell with me, he being lying on my left leg;—I say, before his stroke could come at me, in that very nick of time, his hand was diverted, and carried to give that stroke to one . . . . . Loundre, an officer in our army, who, at that very instant of time, being hardly pursued, run close by him who was drawing the stroke at me;—and yet, for all his haste, he was heard to call, desiring to spare me. Thereafter, I, having gotten quarter, and rendered my arms, was wounded by a thrust in the back, which made me to be in more danger than ever; being thereby unable to walk, I was like to have fallen among the common soldiers. But the Lord provided a gentleman, who took care of me, and having mounted me on horseback, carried me to Major General Lambert, and by his order to Broxmouth, where my

wounds were very carefully [stanched.] And being, through the loss of much blood and weakness of body, brought to faint, I was very kindly refreshed with what the place could afford, and thereafter by my Lord General [Cromwell] brought to Dunbar; where I was most civilly and courteously used, beyond what was due to one of my capacity or rank. Here I lost my dear brother Thomas, who undoubtedly was killed, though we could never get word when or how; for once I saw him taken prisoner, when I fell: as also my servant James Beza was here killed.

I continued five or six months prisoner, but was used most courteously all the time; at last, I with other two, ministers, whereof that excellent, precious man, Mr. John Carstairs, was one, were exchanged with the Captain Skeiper and company of an English ship, who, being taken on the Irish seas, were then prisoners at St. Johnstone [now Perth.] So, in the end of February or March, 1651, I came to Aberdeen. [See Appendix, N.]

During the time of my being a prisoner, I had good opportunity of frequent conference with the Lord General [Cromwell,] L. Gen. [Lieutenant General Fleetwood,] and Doctor Owen; by occasion of whose company, I had first made out unto me, not only some more clear evidences of the [Lord's] controversy with the family and person of our King,—but more particularly, the sinful mistake of the good men of this nation, about the knowledge and mind of God as to the exercise of the magistrate's power in matters of religion—what the due bounds and limits of it are. The mistake and ignorance of the mind of God in this matter,—what evils hath it occasioned!

fearful scandals and blasphemies on the one hand, and cruel persecution and bitterness among brethren on the other! [See Appendix, O.] The consideration of this,—with some other points relating to the Covenant, and League and Covenant,—our mistakes of the mind and will of God, (with the selfish ends of the most, in contriving and carrying on these Covenants,) being at that time very clearly made out to me,—I was forced, for reducing my confused thoughts in order, to set them down in writing; which, at first, were drawn forth the length of near twenty sheets of paper, but after reduced to ten or twelve. I think I have matter to acknowledge the goodness of God unto me, who, so timely and [sweetly] began to give me light in these things, though accompanied with much deadness and unanswerable walking on my part.

I was sometimes, after so much opposition as I found in these things from good and holy men in this land, put to it, to examine over again, from what spirit I had been led forth, to think and conclude so differently of these things from what formerly I did. Especially as I perceived, that the reach of my thoughts would tend to no less, than the overturning of what we had concluded to have been the work of reformation; for the maintenance of which, we were so solemnly engaged, both ourselves and our posterity, in the Covenant and League and Covenant. The thoughts of these things, did for some months very much perplex me; and, being overswayed sometimes with too many prudential considerations, I was brought very near to have fully waved and laid aside all thoughts of that kind, and to have suppressed them; because I saw reproach to

come thereby, not only upon myself but on the nation, and also so great appearance of suffering and hazard that way, if the king's party, who were then in good hopes, should then, or any time thereafter, prevail. But, for all this, it could not be; the clear discovery of the thing being so made out to me, that I could not contain; but went to some few at Aberdeen, as Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. John Menzies, Mr. John Rowe, [Principal of the College,] and Mr. William Moire [Moor.] To all of them I not only spoke my thoughts freely, but gave them my notes before mentioned to read,—which they did; except Mr. Andrew Cant, who refused to read them. Thereafter, having written to some good men in the south, and finding no satisfaction, I came south to them; and, by Providence, found about fifty or sixty of them, ministers and professors together, about the very thing I was desirous of inquiring; and every one speaking publicly, what they thought might be *the causes of the Lord's controversy with the land.* [See Appendix, P.] This inquiry having been my work for some months before, I was ready to have communicated my thoughts to them; but knowing how offensive it would be, and also fearing, lest through any temptation or mistake I had been wrong, I was content, rather at first to speak in private with the Lord Warristoun, Mr. James Guthrie, and Mr. John Levinstone [Livingstone.] But finding no satisfaction, nor any reason why I should forbear, except it were loathness to offend men, I did in their public meeting-place in Edinburgh, upon the . . . . day of . . . . . 1651, speak some few words, and thereafter gave in, under my hand, a paper containing my thoughts of the causes of the Lord's controversy with

the land. I do not here insert it, but leave it to be found, together with the aforesaid papers of my thoughts at large, bound together; from which, at this day, (there being near six years past since,) I find no reason to alter in the least; though many things more might be added, if that were now my present business. After the reading of this paper, there were some much offended; yet, by the mediation of Mr. Levinstone [Livingstone,] Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. John Carstairs, (with whom Mr. James Guthrie, being moderator at that time, concurred,) they appointed a time, and so many of their number, for conference with me. All this time, since our being in Edinburgh, Mr. John Menzies, Mr. William Moire [Moor,] and Mr. Alexander Skene, (these, having been sent for by the meeting,) went along with me. But, before my giving in that paper, they withdrew; (though they were put in the place, yet would they not concur with me in it;) and after the meeting was dissolved, they returned home to Aberdeen. But I staid to attend their conference with me, according to their appointment. And, having kept divers meetings, for the space of three or four days, I found no satisfaction in any thing I doubted of, nor cause to change my mind in any thing I had positively asserted; but, on the [other hand,] was rather confirmed, when I heard they could say so little to the contrary, and some division among themselves. Whereupon, we parted; and I returned home to Aberdeen. [See Appendix, Q.]

I am not here to forget the occasion of my search, and inquiry in the matters of church government; I having been always, before this time, (according to my measure, weakly, as I could,) zealous for Presbytery.

Being led forth to inquire and search out, what had been the ends of the good men of this nation, that had carried them forth so zealously in that matter of the Covenant, I found,—that, among the rest, *this* was one of the many ends that first led our zealous predecessors to the contriving, and thereafter ourselves and others to the carrying on of the Covenant: —namely, thereby to maintain the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Kirk of Scotland, as we call it. Our worthy and zealous predecessors, at the first Reformation, had advanced no small length, according to the dispensation and measure of light of that time; but, the generations then succeeding, did not consider, that as the mystery of iniquity did not grow to its height in one age or two,—but we were involved, after a long tract of time, in that deluge, which at last overflowed great part of the Christian world—they, I say, did not consider, that as by degrees we were involved, so, in the same way, were we to wait for our deliverance; for, as in Psal. xcvii. 11. "light is sown," so must *the growth of it* be waited for by the righteous. These good men,—deeming that they had attained to the full perfection of what was in the Holy Scriptures about the government of God's house, because they were as far on as Geneva,—yea, in some things beyond her,—and so very far beyond England, who were still kept under that antichristian form of Prelacy,—concluded, there was no better way for them to keep what they had attained from being again brought back to Popery (or at least to Prelacy, which they so much and justly abhorred,) than by *a solemn vow and covenant*, to engage themselves and their posterity for ever to maintain that which they had now attained, conceiving it to be the *only* way of Jesus Christ.

Thus, after seeking of God for direction, and the use of all means that I could attain unto for information, I did then clearly discover, this their way to have been a sad snare and temptation; which hath led them forth, not only to the making of the Covenant at first, but to all the ways of human prudence and policy, that the wits of godly and pious men could invent for maintaining the same. And finding that the maintaining of Presbytery was one, if not the main and chief end proposed, by those that were most honest and single-hearted, in contriving and carrying on the Covenant,—(others, as statesmen and politicians, had other ends; but I speak of the godly,)—thus having found that we were so engaged to Presbytery, as the only way of Christ, I was necessarily led on to inquire about *the thing itself*,—if indeed it was truly so. *This* was the true occasion and rise of my inquiry in these matters; and not, as some have conceived, that I was thereto engaged and insnared by men's persuasions, or other base and corrupt ends;—though good men, as Mr. Wood, hath both spoken and written so of me and others. I think they were the rather confirmed in this their apprehension of us, because our inquiry and search into these things, and our public appearing contrary to them, did fall out to be near about the time, or not long after, the coming of the English into this nation. However thus they might have mistaken us and the occasion, willingly would we have kept out of the way, but could not, (the Lord having formerly, but then more pressingly, put us to it, to search and find out our snare in these things;) yet the Lord knows, how far some of us were misapprehended in these things, who may say, (so far weakness and

frailty will allow,) that neither the hand of man, nor other by or base ends whatsoever, were persuading in this matter. But, indeed, the true occasion and first rise of my inquiry in these matters were shortly these. [See Appendix, R.]

The dreadful appearance of God against us at Dunbar, after so many public appeals to him—we were [not only] so visibly forsaken, and at that time given over of the Lord for our correction, but, in a very short space, so broken and divided among ourselves, (as to this day remains,) as who could not but see that we were eminently called, not only to examine our guiltiness in the breach of all the holy laws of God, (whereon much hath been well expressed by many good men;) but more particularly *this* was at that time *with a strong hand from the Lord*, Isai. viii. 11, borne in upon my heart, and so does continue to this day; [namely]—that there was something, both in the matter and manner of our carrying on of what we conceived to be the work of God, that was more particularly pointed at by our stroke, as sinful and wrong, than any guiltiness else that we were under whatsoever. [See Appendix, S.]

As to the issue of my inquiry about the [church] government that was then established in this land, I shall say very little to it, only in the general. I think I have full persuasion warrantably to say this:—However it may be a way of Christ, which for the time he did make use of,—as formerly he had done of Episcopacy, until the upholders of that way became so insolent, as to impose it as the only way of Christ upon the consciences of his people;—yet, sure I may say, without doing Presbyterians any wrong, it is not the only way of Christ, as they would have it,

and as in the Covenant all are sworn to it. Yea, if I may say further, without offence, that it is very far from being the only way of Christ; though I think, if it were soberly managed, it may be looked on as a step nearer to the way of Christ, than Episcopacy; yet, still is it in my apprehension, after the best and most diligent search that I could make, but a human invention, composed with much prudence and policy of man's wit, fitted for those times, when it had its rise in Geneva, from that precious and worthy man, Calvin. Nor is it any derogation to him, who served God worthily in his generation, that others coming after, and far inferior to him, see more in these things than he; yea, the least of [those in] the kingdom of heaven in this respect is greater than John himself. Matt. xi. 11.

And my spirit became at last satisfied as to these things of government, discipline, and constitution of churches, upon this ground:—That, for many ages now past, the truths of Christ, not only of government, but of doctrine and worship, yea, the very being of the church itself, as to its external and formal way of constitution, having been given over into the hands of antichrist, Rev. xi. 1, 2, we have been much in the dark, and are to this day but beginning to break through these clouds, which Christ with the brightness of his coming (whereby he is said to destroy antichrist) is about to dispel. Then shall we see clearly the mind of God in these things; *truths of doctrine* having been the work of Christ in the ages past, for the clearing of which he fitted many worthy instruments; he is now to be about the clearing up his mind [to us] in these points of *the constitution and government of his house;* which, doubtless, will

be acknowledged by all intelligent and sober men, to be more darkly expressed in the Holy Scriptures than other matters. [See Appendix, T.]

But here it is to be observed, and much to be regretted, that good men, who formerly in all their debates about points of doctrine against Papists, were one, Lutherans, Arminians, &c. concurring and strengthening one another among themselves; yet so unhappily are they, in these times, about the debate of government, &c. divided one from another, that they are ready, in bitterness, to pursue and persecute one another. The reason (if, without offence, I may think it)—[see] if it be not our interest that breeds this heat, who shall have most hand in ruling the rest; if it shall be deeply searched for, [see] if this shall not be found to be at the bottom of all the contests among the godly party at this day, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists; [although] I doubt not, but many of all these are truly godly.

One observation yet, and I shall leave this theme, [With regard to] there being an appointed time for the rise and reign of antichrist, and the day of his doom determined, whenever that period shall be, of the end of these 1260 days or 42 months, [see Rev. xiii. 5.] it certainly is not yet come to pass; and therefore are we in the dark as to these things, which then we are clearly and purely to enjoy, according to their institution. I say, that during this time of our darkness, *he* shall be found to have most of the mind of God made known to him as to these things, that walks soberly, and in his judgment is least engaged to any [one] of these forms, so as to account it the only way of Christ; thus reserving for a more full discovery of His mind, in these things as

yet fixed, and adhering to the conscientious use of all the ordinances of Jesus Christ; practising with those who, according to his light, he conceives to come nearest to the [written] word; without passion or bitterness in contending with others, but embracing in love all that are truly gracious, and walk soberly according to the gospel of Christ. For this is worth the observing,—that how sure soever the authors and maintainers of these forms have become, so to idolize and cry them up, as to conclude *them* to be the only way of Christ, and so to have them imposed upon the consciences of their brethren;—*then* hath the Lord visibly appeared against them and their way, and overturned it to the sight of all men. So he did with Episcopacy: when they were at the height of their pride, and become very insolent; then are they overturned, first in Scotland, then in England and Ireland. And so hath he begun to do with Presbytery: when they were at the top and height of their confidence; having by the League and Covenant engaged the three nations thereto, and the Assembly of Divines fully for them;—accommodation to the persons of some good men was that only which could be obtained, but toleration to no way but that;—when they are thus at their height, then, *there*, the Lord leaves them, and their business goes back every day. Not only in England, the power of the state turns opposite to them, and offers liberty to such as would serve God in other gospel ways; but also in Scotland, (the power for them *there*, upon a double sort of account, both civil, and ecclesiastical, being fully in their hands,) the Lord appears visibly against both, by breaking the one in the open fields at Dunbar, and the other in the open meetings at St. Andrews

and Dundee, through needless contests and prejudices one with another, irreconcilably dividing them one from another,—which hath tended more to the prejudice and overturning of their way, than all the power and policy of men could have done against them. Let Independents beware, and keep close to their principles, which so far as I know, (if men's pride and corruption lead them not to it,) tend not to persecution or imposing upon others. [See Appendix, U.]

Some time after this, some Christians in Aberdeen, men and women, having for a long time been convinced of these things, (long before ever a thought of them was with me,) found themselves obliged to endeavour to have the ordinances administered in a more pure way, than there was any hope ever to attain to have them in the national way. But before we would conclude to do any thing of this, it was thought necessary, first to impart our purpose to some Christian friends, and to be willing to hear what they could object against our resolution. Whereupon, by common consent, a letter was drawn up and subscribed, in the name of the rest, by Mr. John Rowe, Mr. John Menzies, Mr. William Moire, [Moor] and me, and directed to the Lord Warristoun, Mr. David Dicke, Mr. John Levinstone, [Livingstone] Mr. James Guthrie, and Mr. Samuel Rutherford, to be communicated to whom they pleased; which letter was of date, at Aberdeen the .... day of ..... jaj vj ..... and .....

After this, very shortly, we had large letters from many good men, both south and west, written to us; the scope of which was, to dissuade us from our purpose, or at least beseeching us not to fall on

any such dividing way, as they called it, until we should first meet with them and confer thereabout, promising to endeavour our satisfaction as much as could be. After seeking of God in this, we could not see how we could refuse this their offer of conference, as a means by which the Lord might further make known his mind to us, for our confirmation in these things,—which we hoped for; yet so, as being reserved to receive whatever light the Lord should offer to us. And therefore, having notice of a meeting of these good men, to be at Edinburgh . . . . day of . . . . . , it was resolved, that Mr. John Menzies and I should go there, and confer with them. We, being there, met with them,—not in their public meeting-place, yet not in a corner, but publicly in Warristoun's chamber, for several days together; but in the end, came to no other conclusion than formerly,—that we were clearly called upon to endeavour to have the ordinances, (especially the sealing ordinances of Christ,) administered unto us in a way nearer the institution, and more pure in way of administration, than it was possible, or there was any ground of hope, to have in the national way. Upon this, we having told them so much, in a very calm manner, and that we were the more confirmed in this our resolution since we came there, parted calmly, they having exonerated themselves very freely and lovingly to us;—only Mr. Andrew Cant went out, before our dissolving, in some passion, and left us. Yet they left it not thus; but resolved that four of their number, namely, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Patrick Gilespie, and Mr. John Carstairs, should come to Aberdeen, and there confer with us together; pressing us much, to delay any pub-

lic appearing until then. To which we would . . . . . terms agree; promising, only to do as the Lord should direct us. Within some few months thereafter, namely, the . . . day of . . . . . , they came to Aberdeen. They staid seven or eight days, and had frequent meetings with us all, together and apart,—but to no purpose for the errand they came about; all of us being rather more confirmed to our former grounds; Mr. John Menzies and Mr. William Muire not being with us, by reason of sickness. Thereafter, in the month of November, in the year . . . . . , we did together partake of the ordinance of the supper of the Lord, publicly, in the meeting-place called Gray Friars. [See Appendix, V.]

CHAPTER V.

1652: ALEXANDER JAFFRAY IS MADE DIRECTOR OF THE CHANCELLRY—1653: HE BECOMES, WITH FOUR OTHERS OF SCOTLAND, MEMBER OF THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND—HE REMAINS IN THE HOUSE, TOGETHER WITH ABOUT 30 OTHER MEMBERS, WHEN THAT ASSEMBLY IS BROKEN UP—CROMWELL OFFERS TO MAKE HIM A JUDGE FOR SCOTLAND—HE CONTRACTS MUCH WEAKNESS OF BODY WHILE IN LONDON—1656: REMOVES HIS RESIDENCE TO EDINBURGH—IN A VIEW OF MERCIES, TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL, HE RESOLVES "TO MAKE HASTE AND FOLLOW HARD AFTER GOD," &c.—ON BEARING THE CROSS; ALSO SOMETHING RELATIVE TO THE SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST—1657: THE ILLNESS OF HIS SON ANDREW—ON THE STATE OF THE CHURCH.

THEREAFTER, I was called by the Judges at Edinburgh to be Director of the Chancellry, in the month of March, 1652, which I accepted of in the month of June. [SEE APPENDIX, W.]

In the month of June, 1653, I was called, with other four out of Scotland, to sit as Member of the Parliament of England. I came there the 5th of July, and staid until the 6th of February, 1654. I had there good occasion to meet, and be acquainted with many godly men; though I can say little of any good we did at that Parliament; yet, it was on the hearts of some there, to have done good for promoting the kingdom of Christ; but, the time not being come, when these things were to be brought forth, we were dissolved the 12th of January, 1654. I came for Scotland the said 6th of February thereafter; having gotten, at that time, from the Lord Protector and his Council, an order for paying to me by the Commissioners at Leith, £1500 sterling,

for paying my part of that debt we contracted in Holland in the year 1650. When that Parliament was broken up, I not being satisfied with the reasons thereof, was one of thirty or thirty-one that staid in the house. Yet, the Protector was pleased to give me the aforesaid order, of which I got payment; and did offer me to be one of the Judges in Scotland; but this I refused, finding myself not capable for discharge of that duty. [See Appendix, X.]

In this journey, having sought of the Lord, that I might be directed and kept from doing wrong, and kept from snares and temptations, I had matter to acknowledge the goodness of God to me, who brought me off, without doing any thing willingly to grieve him or wrong my conscience; nevertheless of some temptation that for the time I was under, yet was I graciously delivered,—to the eternal praise of his grace!

Having staid at London for the space of seven or eight months, I was at this time convinced, that thereafter, it was not fit for me to be so long time from my wife and family; except it were for a very necessary business, and that I had her consent more fully thereto.

I contracted, when in London, very much weakness of body, which in part sticks to me to this day. I cannot positively assert the reasons why it was so,—only this much, in the general:—Satan being very busy, I was much assaulted with variety of temptations; wherefore, I found it convenient to make use of a spare diet. I dare not say, that I was much in prayer; but sure, I was never more called to it,—and yet, very negligent. My purse also invited me much to be sparing; and in this, I did afterwards

much blame myself, that I did not take what lawfully the Lord allowed me, for upholding my crazy body :— though a body of sin and death be some way fed by our [over-] feeding the natural body, yet we must not [neglect] the natural body by . . . . . withholding necessary . . . . . .

[Here a leaf of the manuscript is mutilated and torn off, so as to make a chasm of more than half a page of this letter-press ; in which, something is said respecting Christ being the fountain or well of life itself in our hearts ; and that, when we know this, we shall thirst no more, nor be satisfied with any thing short of this experience.] . . . . .

On my coming from London, in the year 1654, I continued living the one half of the year at Aberdeen, and the other half thereof, namely, the six months of the Session, at Edinburgh, attending on my charge, as Director of the Chancellry. But finding this way of living, the one half of the year *from* my family, not convenient, neither for myself in body and mind, nor for my family ; I therefore resolved, with my family, to come and live in the south ; seeing I could usually get my affairs in the north dispatched by another, which in the south I could not do, being for six months in the year tied to necessary attendance. And therefore, upon the 4th day of November, 1656, I parted from Aberdeen, with my wife and three children, and the 7th day of the aforesaid month, we came safely to Leith ; where we found our two women-servants and our plenishing [furniture,] come thither by sea, a day or two before us.

Among other of God's goodnesses unto me, I have matter to look on this,—his direction and presence with me and my family, both in resolving upon and

prosecuting our journey; where so much of his care and tender providence was manifested to us, and to all in our company or that concerned us, both by sea and land, that we were carried, as it were, on eagles' wings, without the least trouble to the mother, then about four or five months gone with child, or to the young ones that were with her; though the season of the year was not very convenient for such to travel in; yet, by the good hand of our God with us, we were all safely brought to New-battell [Newbattle, near Edinburgh,] the 15th of November aforesaid. [See Appendix, Y.]

Upon the remembrance of these, and other the wonderful goodness of God to me, in matters of this and of a better kind, I have sometimes been thinking and [minding] at *the engaging of my heart anew again unto him;* but find this of more concernment and difficulty to me rightly to be performed, than I had at any former time thought of. Of *so much* concernment to me [did I find it,] to make haste and follow hard after God, as the Psalmist says, in closing more closely with him, or inevitably to be miscarried and brought to a further and more dreadful distance from him;—that, upon this account, were stirred in me all the considerations following.

Besides the temporal favours received, of which not a few instances have been given in these notes, my obligation unto God, for mercies of another kind, was *infinitely great, to love him much;* being persuaded, and that without presumption, yea, rather with fear and trembling, that there is *much forgiven.* The necessity of this was wonderfully cleared up to me. The difficulty of attaining to this, on the other hand, is no less heightened, through a busy enemy, with

insuperable difficulties. But at last, after some serious thoughts and seeking of God, as I could, that which follows was at divers occasions presented to me.

That, while I walked so loosely, as to admitting into the heart vain and unprofitable, yea, sometimes, sinful thoughts,—while my watch was so often down and asleep, as to thoughts, words, and looks,—I need not but expect a snare *in every thing*, to hinder any fixedness in such resolution of seeking further communion with God; yea, [I need not but] fear being overcome of *every* temptation [that might be] suggested by Satan, who was not slow, but very active [herein.]

That I was eminently called upon, before any nearer access and communication with God could be attained, to remember former mercies and be thankful for them; more especially to call to mind former guiltiness,—the sins of my youth,—these having been many and great; though they be blotted out and freely forgiven me, yet ought they to be (and the more for this) *always before me.* Psal. li. 3. By frequent remembrance of these, I found the goodness of God heightened in my view, which has pardoned and overcome *so much*, and therefore *an engagement to love him much*, as it is said in Luke vii. 47. of that good woman. It also served to humble my heart greatly, when I perceived, not only how vile I have been, but still am;—these sins, as to the root of them, being still in me, and in no wise to be subdued, but by going on in a daily course for mortifying them,—even by near and close walking with God, in watching against the first motions and risings of sin in the heart. This consideration put me, sometimes, upon

the desire, to be preparing patiently to bear what cross or affliction the Lord should think fit to exercise me with; seeing that, as a kind father, he chastiseth and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth, Heb. xii. 6; as the church saith in Mic. vii. 9, "I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him."

And the Lord does evidently speak out many excellent lessons, by this way of exercising his children to the cross. Thus, he makes sin vile and loathsome to them, teaching them, by the effects and fruits that it produces, thereby to judge of it. Albeit, I be persuaded of this, yet *most hardly* could I find my heart made sensible, experimentally to know what it is to hate sin,—what is meant by that hatred, indignation, and revenge mentioned by the Apostle, 2 Cor. vii. 11,—which, doubtless, in some measure, does accompany every godly sorrow. But, oh! there is much difference between a speculative notion hereof, and having the reality of the thing made out in experience unto the heart; so that now, not only can it hate sin *in others*, and, it may be, too severely censure them for it, but doth find *the idol itself* in its nature restrained, so as with real indignation to say, as Ephraim, Hos. xiv. 8, "What have I to do any more with idols," and then, to cast them "to the moles and to the bats."

One good lesson the Lord offers to teach us, by the exercise of bearing the cross, is,—*how rightly to value and think of the bitter sufferings and death of Christ.* If there be so much as we conceive of bitterness, and that which is unpleasing to us, in *our* petty sufferings, what was there in the sufferings of *Him*, who endured the Father's wrath for our sakes.

But, this not being my purpose to insist on here, I shall leave the enlarging of it to every heart, as the Lord shall be pleased to *enlarge them*, in their meditation of it. Only, because, in experience, I have found the truth of one observation relating thereto, let me shortly give it.

Much of the cause, why many godly persons, who meditate and think much on the death of Christ, yet find very little right and true advantage by so doing, may be,—that the thing mainly looked at, is the tragical story of his death and sufferings. This is the chief use which the Papists, and many carnal Protestants also, make of Christ's sufferings, to meditate and set out to themselves *the grievousness of them*, so to move their hearts to a relenting and compassion to him, and indignation against the Jews for their crucifying of him; with an admiring of his incomparable love. And to get the heart thus affected, is by many *counted to be grace;* whereas, it is no more than what the like tragical story of some great and noble personage will work, and useth ordinarily so to do in ingenuous spirits, who read or hear of it,—yea, and that, oftentimes, though it be but in a way of fiction. This, when it reacheth *no higher*, is so far from being *faith*, or a thing any-wise acceptable in God's sight, is but *carnal and fleshly devotion*,—springing from fancy, which is pleased with such a story. Such stories use to stir up principles of humanity in men unto compassionate love, which Christ himself, at his sufferings, found fault with, as being not spiritual nor raised enough, in those women, who went weeping to see him so handled: "Weep not for me," says he; that is, "Weep not so much for this, to see me so unworthily handled by these for

whom I die." But then, if it be inquired, *What is it in Christ's passion, that should be most minded and looked to?* Answer. The chief and main thing to to be looked unto, when the heart would rightly view and meditate on the sufferings of Christ, is, the end, meaning, and intent of God, and of Christ himself in his sufferings. It is the right consideration of this, *eyed by faith*, which draws the heart to rest on Christ; when it perceives, that *his* aim and end in suffering for poor sinners, so fully answers to what is *its* aim and desire,—to wit, that sinners might be saved. When it perceives, that Christ's heart was as full in this, to *procure* it, as the sinner's heart *can* be to *desire* it. This consideration, borne home on the soul, draws it to Christ, *to rest on him;* which all the considerations else, let the heart be as much enlarged and taken with them as may be, can never do; they, being but fruits of the flesh, can never produce so high an end. And the like may be said of human inventions, as crucifixes, lively representations of the passion of Christ, unto the sight of fancy, do exceedingly provoke men to such devotional meditations and affections. But, all they work is an historical faith, only an historical love and remembrance; and no other than such effects are produced in many, by reading the history of the Bible,—even in many, who are yet much against such crucifixes, &c. But, as God looks principally *at the meaning of the Spirit in prayer*, Rom. viii., so doth faith look principally to *the meaning of Christ in his sufferings.* And as, in all other truths, a believer is said to have *the mind of Christ*, 1 Cor. ii. 16., so especially, he minds what was *the mind and heart of Christ in all his sufferings;* for, it is *that in them which answers to his*

aim and purpose, namely, a desire to be saved from sin and judgment;—and, to effectuate this, was the very aim and end of God in sending Christ, and of Christ in suffering so cheerfully. [See Appendix, Z.]

Another lesson, which ordinarily the Lord useth to teach his children, by exercising them with the cross, is,—that thereby they may be learning *more soberly to think of, and less to engage their hearts unto, the things of a present world:* so, commonly it falls out, that every rose we taste of here, has a thorn and prick under the leaf of it. And therefore, if, in every comfort of this kind that thou enjoyest here, there be some mixture of bitterness, some water amongst thy wine; mistake not, but look on it as proceeding from the wisdom and love of God to thee, thereby, not only to let thee see, by speculation but find from experience, how vain and empty the things of a present world are. *So* found he, that had the largest experience of them, Solomon, Eccles. i. &c. and from this, he is drawn to a good conclusion, xii. 13. Let us therefore consider the whole matter:—"fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man."

Again, the exercise of the cross serves much for *the increase and exercise of grace.* Rom. v. 3, "Tribulation works patience," &c; and therefore says the Prophet, "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth." Lam. iii. 27. The Psalmist found it so, cxix. 67, "Before I was afflicted I went astray, but now have I kept thy word." In Heb. xii. 11, there is a remarkable expression respecting chastisements, or bearing the cross:—"No chastisement for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous,

afterward it brings forth the peaceable fruit of righteousness to them that are exercised thereby." Observe the word *exercised;* the cross affords fruit to none but to them that are exercised thereby, that is, whose daily exercise it is, to be under the cross. They that make the patient bearing of the cross their daily exercise, shall, doubtless, find grace much exercised and growing thereby.

But one might ask me, What I mean by the cross?—as sometimes my own heart did. Having considered, that the cross was not only of so much use and advantage, but so necessary to Christians, as that, without walking in this way of the cross after Christ, they could not come to the crown; I was sometimes putting this query to myself, What cross was I under? And indeed, it seemed to me, I was under none,—having abundance of all earthly comforts; and though not in such measure as covetous hearts desire, yet I thought myself the more free of the cross in this,—that I was satisfied with what I had, as not being much troubled with sickness, nor with poverty, nor with want of contentment in my wife, or children, or sisters, &c. And thus, it did not appear to me, what cross I was under, or how exercised thereby. I was sometimes not far from concluding my state to be, on this account, *very dangerous;*—for God deals so, not with sons, but with bastards, Heb. xii. 7, 8. The thoughts following occurred to me thereon.

First, that a believer may be much exercised, though he be under no such dispensation, as, to the world's eye, may appear a cross; yet may he be, in Christ's account, taking up his cross daily, when he is *preparing for it.* So is it well said to this purport,

That a Christian is always a martyr in action or in affection; that is, either actually under the cross, or preparing his affections so to frame with the cross, that he may contentedly undergo it, when it comes.—The consideration of that Scripture,—Job iii. 25, "The thing that I greatly feared is come upon me, and that which I was afraid of is come unto me,"—afforded some help [on this point.] I considered, it is a duty for a believer, that would not be surprised with the cross, when he is enjoying earthly comforts in the largest measure, (as who could have them more than Job had,) *then* to be supposing that the time may come, wherein he may want all these things; and not only so, but the contrary evils ought to be provided for. So, it is evident, Job was doing; not only forecasting the want of what he was then enjoying, but greatly fearing the very height of that extremity to which he was reduced. This, rightly dwelt upon, may serve very much for the humbling of our hearts, who are so exceedingly short in such duties; and should make us also clearly see, why the cross is so scared at, and so impatiently borne, when it comes. We habituate not ourselves to serious thoughts of it, so are we surprised and confounded when it comes. But, happy is that man, who is daily habituating himself to such foresight; and, for the making of his purpose the more effectual, is sometimes *abridging himself of the utmost extent to which he might go* in the use of lawful pleasures; knowing that, without this, it is not possible he can escape *going beyond bounds.* And further, he will sometimes, for a season, deny himself the satisfaction of such a lawful comfort, wholly secluding himself from any use of it; being very sensible of the goodness of God in per-

mitting him the use of it, yet he keeps it as it were *without doors*, that he may keep Christ the closer *within*. Not as though Christ and this lawful pleasure, might not be both enjoyed together;—for he gives us large allowance even in these things, (see Neh. viii. 10.) and, as is there signified, the comfortable use of them is sometimes much for the advantage of believers; but,—in order to the preparing his heart to live without all these things,—is he *often denying himself, and forecasting* [*the loss of them,*] especially of those which he finds his heart to dote upon, or where he has cause to fear this.

Another way whereby a believer may be exercised in bearing the cross daily, though actually he be under no visible cross for the present, is,—*when he rightly reflects upon past corrections and warnings*, how he hath sometimes *mistaken* what such a dispensation did *speak* to him. It may be, when he considers of it again, with all the observable circumstances both of mercy and judgment, he shall *now* find the mind of God more clearly made known to him [in it,] and much matter of humiliation for his dulness, sloth, and negligence;—also much occasion to admire God's goodness, who yet continues to spare him, notwithstanding his so frequent mistaking, and so unanswerable walking to these dispensations. For when the Lord points at some fault, which he wills thee to amend; and advertises thee of this, by some messenger of peace,—some act of mercy and goodness beyond thy expectation, or some messenger of his anger,—the voice of his rod, which speaks to the man of wisdom, Mic. vi. 9; I say,—when thou considerest, that thus the Lord deals with thee; and yet, thou seest not, or mindest not—this is no small

aggravation of sin. And what matter of praise and admiration will be here,—that thou hast yet an opportunity offered thee to mend! When the heart is enlarged to this purpose by the hand of God, there will be matter of sanctified exercise, which Christ will as acceptably account of, as bearing any cross whatsoever.

A third, and special way, in which a gracious heart, that has no external want or cross upon him, may yet be daily under sad and heavy exercise of the cross, [is this.]—Suppose thy condition be such, as that thou enjoyest all earthly things at thy will; yet, as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. xv. 19, "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, of all men we are most miserable," so, I may say, if thou be satisfied with what thou hast of these things, sad is thy cross, though thou knowest it not.—But, I suppose, thou be one of those, that count the enjoying of a blink of Christ's face worth all these things, and his withdrawing or hiding of himself but a little, to be a more sad affliction to thee than the want of any of these things could possibly be.—If Abraham could say, Gen. xv. 2, that while he wanted a child, he counted little else that God could give him; how much more mayst *thou* say so, if thou go Christ-less, *what hast thou?*—[Here some parts of the manuscript are omitted, being chiefly reflections on Rom. vii. 24, and an allusion to the case of Hezekiah, 2 Chron. xxxii. 26.]

The 24th day of February, 1657, I was advertised by my wife, of a sore and sudden illness that had overtaken my child Andrew; the like unto which had formerly overtaken my daughter Margaret, of which she died unexpectedly in two days' sickness. This circumstance did affright her sore, and make her ap-

prehend danger of present death; yet the Lord was pleased, the next morning, to refresh me with good news of the child's being better:—I, having sought it of the Lord, *must* acknowledge it a new mercy and return of prayer.—Upon the consideration of it, I conceive myself obliged to endeavour, for myself and my wife, to have our hearts more loosened from our misplaced affection to that child in particular; so that, if the Lord shall remove him, we may with contentment submit;—which, for the present, I clearly perceive, neither I nor she are so well fitted for as we should be. Also further—to consider more, what the meaning of that Scripture is, Jer. x. 24, "O Lord, correct me, but with judgment, not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing."

Having for many days put up some desires to the Lord, on behalf of his people and work, I was this day, 10th of April, 1657, convinced, that my way was but very slight and formal; and that the consideration of the work of God, and his people's condition at this time, hath been but very superficially looked on by me. Therefore was I some way desirous, to be humbled before the Lord for my former neglect, and my not observing what the Lord is about, in these times; and what he is so wonderfully working, by such contrary means to those we had proposed, as the way for carrying on his work. That Scripture came to my mind, Jer. xlv. 2 to 5. May not the Lord be said, in these days, to be *breaking down* what formerly he had *builded*, and *plucking up* what he had *planted;* and yet, for the most part, how senseless are his people! But let my thoughts be confined rather to *myself;* for, if I may presume to be counted among the Lord's people, sure I am, there

hath been none, who hath had any measure of light or impression from the Lord of these things, that have proved more lifeless, formal, and negligent, as to a right minding of the concernment of the Lord and his people. What a sad matter is it, for the Lord's people, in such a time, not only to be in darkness as to their duty, but so far deserted, as they have been for a long time, and unfitted to carry on *what remains to be done of the Lord's work*, that they are generally *inclining to sit down and be satisfied with what they have*. Yea, (which is worse,—if worse may be,) are there not many of the servants of Christ, who have been eminently carried forth to be glorious instruments in bringing forward the work to this length; but who are clearly turning back again, and ready to sit down upon the things of a present world, so as to be in hazard of being bewitched by these?—or, if not, are they not generally seeking to sit down upon *the dawnings* [only,] of the morning light? While as, Jesus Christ, like the sun in his brightness, is mounting up, and calling them *to follow on, unto the perfect day*;—until his enemies be altogether made his footstool, and *the earth be filled with the glory of the Lord*, as is promised in Numbers, xiv. 21. Yea, (which is yet more sad,—if any thing can so be said to be,) does not *this* appear very dreadful in their condition?—that, while many of them are thus deserted, *others*, who profess they would be *furtherwards*, in carrying on what remains to be done, are [themselves] so deserted and forsaken of the Lord, (as to the knowledge of his mind about the right way of prosecuting what may be their duty, and that which they would so far be about,)—that they are [even] in close opposition and contrary terms

one to another, bitterly persecuting and like to beat one another. And yet, their contending is about trifles, or matters disputable,—matters in which, though they differed, they might well allow charity one to another, and sweetly carry on the work together, but that the Spirit of the Lord is departed from them:—*this* is a circumstance aggravating their distraction, and the miserable evils of it; so that it may be said, "The princes of Zoan are become fools," Isai. xix. 13;—but the sun is gone down over the prophets, and the day is dark unto them. Micah iii. 6.

Yet, in this sad apprehension of the present condition of things, there was matter for me to be comforted, [even] in this,—that, out of such darkness, our Lord can bring light; and not only that he *can*, but also *that he will do it.* And though this dark, deserted condition doth speak out much cause for lamentation and woe unto us; because of the influence, which, doubtless, our sins have had in occasioning this,—(and well were it for that man who is rightly affected, laying it to heart;) yet all this, ought not to lead to the discouragement of any, or the fainting of their confidence *in the truth of what is promised*—that Jerusalem shall be made the praise of the earth, and that this is the time when the Lord is about to do it. Yea,—(which is observable, if I mistake not the Scriptures,)—this, the deserted and dark condition of the godly, may be warrantably a ground, on which they may conclude, the time of their deliverance and redemption draws near. So Christ saith, Luke, chap. xxi. "When these things begin to come to pass, then look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth near." Consider,

when shall this be?—in verse 24th, it is said, when the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled, then Jerusalem shall be delivered. And what are the signs accompanying these times?—"perplexity and distress of nations," and "men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth," &c. The Prophet Zechariah, xiv. 6, speaking of this time, tells plainly,—that it shall be a time of strong confusion, neither light nor dark; and that the expected light shall not come *until the evening*,—even *then*, when people are giving over hope of light, and expecting nothing but more darkness. *Then* will *the living waters go out from Jerusalem*, and *then* will "the Lord be King over all the earth;" *then* will "there be but one Lord, and his name one." *Then* will he "turn to the people *a pure language*, that they may *all call upon his name*, to serve him *with one consent*." Zeph. iii. 9.

The Lord's people should therefore be labouring to stay and establish their hearts, not to be shaken in their confidence of the truth of the promises of his coming;—for, lo! He comes, *with power and great glory*. Matt. xxiv. 30.—"But who may *abide* the day of his coming?" Mal. iii. 2.—They should labour, so to be established in the faith of his promises, as not to be shaken at what has already, or may as yet come, of a day of darkness and desertion. Is there not also warrant for them, to be waiting for *a dreadful time of suffering*, with which they may be tried?—as the Scriptures do very plentifully hold forth,—in which Satan, having transformed himself into an angel of light, shall so far prevail, that, if it were possible, he should deceive the very elect. This day, as it hath, in a great measure, already come on

us in this generation; yet not so, but that more, and much more of this kind, may be our lot to be tried with. It appears very evident from the Holy Scriptures, Isai. i. 25 and iv. 4, that before *that great and glorious appearing of Christ*, the dross and tin of his people must be purely purged away by the spirit of judgment and of burning,—a day of such trouble, says Daniel, xii. 1, "as never was,"—*such a day must there be*, before THE LORD'S PEOPLE "shall be delivered;" such a day, wherein *two parts* shall be cut off and die, and *a third part* shall be saved "through the fire," [after] being "refined" and "tried" as "silver" and as "gold."

O! that, by the consideration of these things, I might stir up my own heart, so to labour to be rooted and grounded in the love of the truth, and knowledge of the gospel of Christ; that no temptation on the one hand, or on the other, should shake me, in those dreadful, shaking, and trying times, when the Lord is about *the searching "Jerusalem with candles."* Zeph. i. 12. This search is there said to be, for the punishment of those that are settled on their lees.—*Lord! save me from settling, either in a lifeless form of religion, without the power thereof, or in any bait or temptation that may arise from the allurements of a present world; that I may, by grace, be saved from the errors of the times, to which so many are given up, to the dreadful offence and scandal of the gospel!* So also, I pray, that the Lord, of his goodness and free grace, would save me from *resisting* or *refusing to receive light, when it does proceed from Himself*, who is *the Fountain of light and life;* [especially] when He is about these glorious manifestations and discoveries of himself, which

shall *consume the man of sin,* even with the brightness of his coming, 2 Thess. ii. 3 and 8.—and [which shall also] make *his own* shine more brightly than the sun in the firmament, through the abounding measure of the graces of his Spirit in them. See Dan. xii. 3, and Isai. xxx. 26. *Then* shall a little one be like David, and the house of David like the angel of God. Zech. xii. 8. How far are the *least* of the saints from having attained to this pitch! and yet no less than this ought to be in their eye and aim;—the kingdom of Christ, which by himself we are taught daily to pray that it may come, will produce no less. But *how far* are we [the religious professors of this day] from it! and *how much* may we, in all appearance, be likely to suffer, before *our dross and tin* be taken away, that we may be accounted worthy to win "places" among the number of those that shall get leave to "stand by;" [according to that place in Zech. iii. 4, 7. "Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee." "If thou wilt walk in my ways, and if thou wilt keep my charge, then thou shalt also judge my house, and shalt also keep my courts, and I will give thee places to walk among these that stand by."]

CHAPTER VI.

ALEXANDER JAFFRAY COMMEMORATES THE PROVIDENTIAL KINDNESS OF THE LORD TO HIS FAMILY—HIS VIEWS AND RESOLUTIONS AT THIS PERIOD WITH REGARD TO PRAYER, &c.—SOME REFLECTIONS ON "HAVING A NAME TO LIVE," AND ON "STRENGTHENING THE THINGS THAT REMAIN," &c.—ON BEING "SOBER, AND WATCHING UNTO PRAYER."

This day, I had been labouring to remember with thankfulness, the kindness of the Lord to my family; and, in particular, his sweet providence towards us in our journey here, and since we came here; and now, of late, that he hath brought our youngest child, John, safely to us. This was a mercy, which I had divers times sought of the Lord; and which, now and ever, I desire to remember with all thankfulness, as the fruit and answer of prayer. My desire was also to the Lord, that he would save me from letting these my dear children, or any thing else of my enjoyments, get too much room in my heart. I also sought of the Lord, that my wife's condition, at this time of her delivery, may be remembered; and that the neglect of former deliverances, at such times of strait both to her and me, may not now be remembered [against us;] but that we may be helped to remember with much thankfulness these straits and difficulties, with the out-gets we then had, and the vows and promises we then made; hoping that the Lord will yet be gracious, and even particularly at this

time will spare and pity her, and give us once more occasion to praise his name!

The 11th day, being Saturday, I had been some time of the afternoon until six o'clock at the fields: when I came in, I intended to have taken up the rest of that evening with prayer and meditation, in reference to a better preparation for the sabbath. Yet was I entangled with some worldly business, of no necessary or present use, but which might have been very well done at another time, without any loss or danger. A little before eight o'clock, *I set myself to prayer;* but, owing to a loose, roving heart, distracted with worldly business, not a word could I get expressed. Here, I began to consider the language of this dispensation, to speak no less than a sad check and challenge for my former laziness and negligence, in not stirring up myself with delight to be about these holy duties of prayer and meditation. And having thought a little on this point,—not only in relation to some more time to be hereafter spent for preparation against the sabbath; but also in relation to all my exercises in divine worship, both on sabbath and other days,—I found, upon a more exact examination of my way, both in private when I am alone, and more publicly when I am with my family, and elsewhere in the assemblies for public worship,—there was much matter of humiliation for many things both wanting and wrong in these duties, which, by the grace of the Lord and in his strength, I intend to amend.

First, In the morning, I resolve to labour, when with convenience I can, *to have some time before private prayer*, for reading some portion of Scripture and meditation thereon, as relating not only to my own private case, but to the condition and case of

my family; so that I may be fitted to pray for and with them, and also to exhort and edify them from the words, as all, or any of them, shall be observed to stand most in need; not doubting, but I shall find it a way profitable both for them and me, and blessed of God. And not only to read Scripture with them; but some time, if conveniently it may be had, every day, to interrogate the meaning of such a place, or what any of them could observe from it. By this means there may be good occasion had, not only to acquaint myself and them with the history of the Bible; but of catechising them, and of commending any virtue or reproving any vice, of which they may stand in need.

Secondly, To labour to watch more over my heart *in time of prayer*, either private or more public, against wandering and vain thoughts; which, as at all times they are wrong and sinful, so more especially then. Eccles. v. 1. "Keep thy foot;"—by foot there, is meant the affections, which, as they are *at all times* to be kept, so *especially*, says the Spirit, *there*, "when thou goest to the house of God;" and, verse 2, there is a notable reason added, why it should be thus,—which, were it well observed, might be a good means for keeping the heart right in time of prayer,—"God is in heaven, and thou upon earth; therefore let thy words be few." If the majesty of God, to whom we speak, were considered, it might help us much, not only against *sinful speaking*, but *sinful thinking* also, as the Spirit there clearly intimates.

Thirdly, That the heart may be the better helped to be watchful in prayer, I find it necessary, to be more watchful *between the times of approaching to*

God by prayer; being convinced, that in this duty I am more wanting, and have more frequently failed, than in any thing else; yea, I conceive, my failing in every thing else is mostly owing to this,—that I have not actively bestirred myself up, in the strength of Christ, to be more in this duty of *watching*. The Lord help me, therefore, to think of the absolute necessity and great advantage of prosecuting, by the strength of Christ, a more diligent and close way of watching over my heart! for without so doing, there is *no hope of making further progress* in the ways of Christ, nor any quenching of the fiery darts and buffetings of Satan, wherewith I am so frequently and furiously assaulted.

While I was thinking on these things, two Scriptures occurred to my thoughts; the one, affording motives and pressing arguments persuading to the duty; the other, offering a notable means, teaching how it may be done. The first Scripture was, Rev. iii. 1, 2, 3. "These things, saith He, that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars." Observe, it is *Christ* that is the speaker, and it is to the *lively-like*, but *dead* creature. O how lively a description of *me!* and how dreadful a guiltiness is it, to have *much in appearance before men*, when in the sight of God, there is nothing but *deadness at the heart!* And what is it, that Christ saith to such a soul, what bids he it do, for the remedy of its dead condition? "Be watchful"—*there* is the duty; and the effect of it shall be, that *the things which remain*, which yet are not *fully dead*, but *ready to die*,—these shall be strengthened. O what a speaking Scripture unto my condition; who, through unwatchfulness, have sensibly lost much, and the sin and corruption of my

nature become stronger exceedingly! Yet,—glory to the Lord Jesus!—who tells me, by his Spirit bearing witness to mine in these Scriptures, that there is yet some little life which remains, not yet dead; and that, by grace, through watching, it may be strengthened. ——— In verse 3, motives inducing to watchfulness are offered:—First, "*Remember how thou hast received,*" Second, "*How thou hast heard,*" Third, "*Hold fast,*" and Fourth, "*Repent.*" The duty of watchfulness, is of difficult, yet most necessary use; and therefore the Spirit presseth it much. Mark, xiv. 38, Christ appoints [his disciples] to watch and pray, as if it were *the only means* to prevent temptations; and in chap. xiii. ver. 37, as if he were to leave *no other* direction to any or all of his disciples, he saith, "What I say to you, I say to you all, Watch."

Now, the means whereby one may best attain to know the worth of this duty, and how to perform it, is, first, by remembering "how thou hast received," &c. says the text. It will prove a notable means to help us to keep what we have, if we consider rightly, *what* it is that we have, and *how* we have received it.

What is it that a believer hath, that he must so carefully watch over? In verse 11 of the said chapter of Revelation, it is called *a crown*—"Hold fast that which thou hast, let no man take thy crown." Crowns are thought to be things of most worth and account among men: and *therefore*, grace is compared to a crown. How careful are men to get, and to keep a crown, when they have it. Yet what sorrow and vexation does many times accompany them; and, at the best, they are but perishing and tran-

sitory things. But, there is no such inconvenience accompanying *this* crown,—"it is a crown of life," and lasts for ever:—therefore *make much of it*, and *keep it well*—therefore, "WATCH." The thing we have to keep, and for which we are to watch, is of infinite worth,—beyond all the crowns of the world; yea, beyond the worth of earth and heaven too; yea, infinitely beyond the worth of all the things imaginable—*is communion with God.* "My Beloved is *mine*, and I am *his*," saith the spouse. Cant. ii. 16. Jesus Christ is *ours*:—O, what a treasure! The Apostle reasons to this purpose, and concludes sweetly, 1 Cor. iii. 21, 22, 23,—"All things are yours;———ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's." Yea, the Holy Ghost is also ours and dwells in us, 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17,—"Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him will God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are;" and in chap. vi. 19, 20, "What? know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a price: therefore, glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's." What strong language is there here! The Holy Ghost is in you, your body is his temple, therefore glorify God in your body. Have ye got so honourable a guest in your house, will ye not watch diligently to keep him well. [SEE APPENDIX, AA.] See in Canticles, ii. 7, how the soul that has gotten him, will be careful to keep him; and again, chap. viii. 4,—"I charge you,—that ye stir not up nor awake my Love, until he please." This charge is again repeated in chap.

iii. 5, and in verse 7 and 8; because of fear in the night, lest any thing should disturb him, she sets a strict watch, *sixty valiant men about his bed, expert in war, holding swords on their thigh.* What watchfulness is there here! No less will be *thy* care and diligence, to watch against every thing that may displease him, or interrupt his remaining and resting with thee, if thou hast indeed received him and knowest his worth. Not knowing the excellent worth of Jesus, and his precious company, makes us to be so little watchful over our hearts, in entertaining every motion of his Spirit, and stirring up ourselves thereto, and, avoiding every "appearance of evil," 1 Thess. v. 22. What evils may be thought of less importance than a look or a thought, when it is not consented to; yet these, if thou be not humbled for them, much more if given way to, are a letting down of thy watch, and may deprive thee of communion with Christ. For, Mat. v. 28, a light look of the eye, if not carefully watched over, may, in the sight of Christ, become adultery; and therefore, that prudent and precious man, Job, xxxi. 1, that he might not think a wrong thought, resolves not to look a wrong look; he knew how the one draws on the other, and that both of them were sinful in the sight of God. And doubtless thou dost so, if thou knowest what it is, to keep up a watch for entertaining of Christ; and, on the contrary, if thou canst dispense with thyself in these or the like things, thou knowest him not, nor the worth of his company,—thou dost not watch, live otherwise how blamelessly and diligently, in the practice of religious duties, thou wilt.

Consider, further, *how thou got this* that thou hast; and this may very much stir up the heart to

attention and watchfulness. Thou hast received it very freely,—never was there so free a gift as grace is. The Spirit of God by the Prophet Ezekiel, chap. xvi. sets this very notably forth under the type of a wretched infant, lying in the open fields in its blood, &c. Consider, then, how freely, how fully, he hath given to thee. These points are of great importance, and may be largely extended in meditation. How exceedingly is the love of God commended to us, from the consideration of the *freedom* of it. Rom. v. 8, 9, 10, "For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." Then consider also, how *fully* thou hast received, John, i. 16, "Of his fulness have we all received, and grace for grace." In thy proportion, thou hast received some measure of every grace, that Christ received without measure, and these he augments and perfects by his presence; and wilt thou not therefore watch to make him welcome? In Col. ii. 10, we are said to be *complete in him;* and how does Christ, John, xv. 11. and xvi. 24, press his disciples to ask of him, that their joy may be full. If thou hast Christ as thy portion, mayst thou not say with the Prophet, Psal. xvi. 6, that the lines are fallen to thee in pleasant places, and that thou hast a goodly heritage? How do men ordinarily contend for their heritage!—contend for keeping Christ, by watching over thy heart,—diligently *keep it* [even] *with all keeping*. Prov. iv. 23.

The other Scripture, which was offered to my thoughts, as one holding forth a notable means to help us in the duty of watchfulness was, 1 Peter, iv. 7, "But the end of all things is at hand; be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer."

There are three things in these words, the right consideration of which may very much help us, in setting up, and keeping up a daily watch over our hearts. First, A right consideration of things present, and of things to come. Secondly, Sobriety in the use of every thing that we have, or may enjoy here. And thirdly, a daily renewing of the act and exercise of watching, with an eye unto prayer.

[After some reference had to that text, Eccles. i. 2, and i. 17, 18, on the first of the above heads, the writer cites 1 John, ii. 15, 16; then John, iv. 13, 14; then Isai. lxiv. 4, as quoted by the Apostle Paul, in 1 Cor. ii. 9. Under the second head, the following sentences occur; the rest being here omitted.]

A sentry may be very punctual in his duty, yet if he be not a sober man, but one that is distempered in body by drunkenness, or in mind with giddiness, frequently gives untimely and uncertain alarms. And though he may discern the enemy and give warning of his coming, yet falls not on the right way of resistance; but instead of making him stand at a due distance, lets him come too near, and falls a parleying with him; without calling his corporal, whereby the main guard may be advertised, and so the whole city be put in arms. And as in this case, the experience of a good soldier can well tell him, there is nothing more dangerous for a place besieged, than such a sentry; so *my* experience does sadly give me to know, that there is no case more dangerous for a besieged soul, than watchfulness without sobriety. And therefore, how fitly does the Apostle, 1 Peter, v. 8, join them together, "Be sober, be vigilant:" the reason he adds, is also very observable:—ye have a busy, subtle, deceitful, and desperate enemy; therefore so-

briety, as well as watchfulness, will be needful for your watchman. He puts sobriety also in the *first* place . . . . . .

The Apostle says, 1 Cor. vi. 12, "All things are lawful for me, yet I will not come under the power of any:"—beware, then, that [things lawful] get not too much power to command over you, or to be looked on as absolutely necessary. Consider; ye *may*, yea, ye *must* be without them; and it will prove not a little for your advantage, even while ye have them most at your command, sometimes to be denying yourself the comfort of them, the better to habituate yourself to live without them; seeing ye know, *ye* may leave them, or *they* must leave you, before it be long. [Here the writer briefly adverts to the snare which there may be, to some, in the other extreme; and that such have need to mind the exhortation given to Timothy, v. 23.] It is likely, Timothy, was in this respect to be admonished; therefore the Apostle advises him to forbear drinking water, and to take a little wine,—but it was for his "often infirmities." There may be not only a defect, but a sinful extremity and acting in these things, which have but "a show of wisdom in will-worship and humility, and neglecting of the body." Col. ii. 23. But the other extremity is, sometimes, a surprising temptation even to the godly. Solomon, in the 23rd of Proverbs, having spoken of that abominable sin of drunkenness, in verse 31, gives warning of the danger there is, in giving way so far as with delight to look upon the good qualities of the wine, namely, its motion and colour in the cup; intimating, that we may be allured to lust after it, which, in Christ's account, is no less than the very

acting of the sin itself; see Matt. v. 28. O, what matter of humiliation and mourning, may there arise from this consideration, for by-gone guiltiness! what matter of sobriety and watching unto prayer for the time to come! How ignorant have I been of the wiles of the devil, of his devices and methods in tempting! as the Apostle expresseth it in 2 Cor. ii. 11.——It is not merely *exorbitancy*, or giving way to satisfy the several appetites in eating or drinking, that is here spoken against, but every thing of the like kind or nature, wherein *the feeding*, much more *the satisfying of the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, or the pride of life*, are given way to. 1 John, ii. 16.

There is, [however,] a very large and comfortable portion, even of these outward enjoyments, allowed unto the godly; "all things are" theirs, 1 Cor. iii. 21, yea, all these things *were made for them;* but it is a mercy, above all this, to know how rightly to enjoy *our portion in its place*, which is mainly attained unto by a watchful, modest, and sober using of them. But, many times, for want of this excellent gift of sobriety in the using of our lawful comforts, do we make our comforts to be blasted and cursed unto us:—so, the Lord threateneth to do with his people, Mal. ii. 2, to *curse* their *blessings;* yea, he tells them, he had done it already, because of their unwatchfulness in not laying his commandment to heart. Doubtless, it is not only lawful, for God's servants to have a lawful and liberal use of his best creatures; but they have also the *best right* to them. "The finest of the wheat," and "honey out of the rock," which is the best, was also their allowance. But the believer knows well, what a snare many times he hath

found in these things. It is to guard against this, that they are called. The Apostle Jude, in verse 12, lays it as a great blot to the charge of *such as feed without fear*. Canst thou partake of these things at any time, (especially, when the use of them is most liberally enjoyed,) without fear of a snare? then doubtless thou art *in the snare*, though thou knowest it not; and the best way for thee to fear, and thus prevent the snare, is, frequently to abridge thyself of that liberty thou mightst lawfully take; otherwise, if thou dare go the utmost end of that which is lawful, thou canst not miss going beyond it, before thou art aware. The wise man, Prov. xxviii. 14, saith, that he is happy who *feareth always*. What a dreadful snare found Noah, and also Lot, Gen. ix. and xix, by their failing to observe this rule! It is worthy our observation, that though doubtless the apostles were moderate and very sober men, yet Christ thought fit to warn them of the danger of being overcome with *surfeiting* and *drunkenness*, Luke, xxi. 34. So liable are the best of men to miscarry, if they watch not against the worst of sins.

To conclude this point, of sobriety in the use of lawful things, I shall only mention that one Scripture, 1 Peter, ii. 11, "Dearly beloved, I beseech you, as strangers, and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts;"—and observe the reason the Apostle gives, why this abstinence should be,—"They war against your soul." Any thing that the flesh or carnal appetite is fed with, more than is necessary or convenient, for the supplying of the body to the service of Christ, may be here taken for a fleshly lust. And Paul, in Rom. viii. 13, calls them by another name, which, being considered of, may give light to this:—"The deeds of the body."

These inordinate appetites of the body, must be mortified by the Spirit. By *walking in the Spirit*, as we are exhorted, Gal. v. 16, we shall be enabled *not to fulfil these lusts;* which, if we do fulfil, though we live in the body, we shall die in the Spirit; that is, *the gifts and graces of the Spirit shall die and wither on our hand daily.*

CHAPTER VII.

1657: REMARKS RELATING TO "INTEGRITY, SOBRIETY, AND MODESTY IN THE USE OF SPIRITUAL GIFTS"—THOUGHTS ON DEATH—THE DANGER OF MURMURING, WHEN MOURNING—ALEXANDER JAFFRAY SETS APART A DAY FOR SEEKING GOD BY FASTING AND PRAYER, ON SEVERAL ACCOUNTS—THE BIRTH OF A SON; HIS THOUGHTS ON THAT, AND OTHER MERCIES OF A DOMESTIC NATURE—HIS SCRUPLES AS TO "BAPTIZING" HIS INFANT "IN THE NATIONAL WAY."

[Our Diarist next proceeds with the following remarks on "integrity, sobriety, and modesty of the mind, in the use of inward and spiritual gifts."]

"As a man *thinketh in his heart*, so is he," saith the wise man. Prov. xxiii. 7. Therefore are we commanded to "keep the *heart* with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life." Prov. iv. 23. And, if we would have an evidence, that we are serving God *as sons*, we must then *give him the heart;* Prov. xxiii. 26, "My son, give me thy heart, and let thine eyes observe my ways;"—as if there were no more required, but the heart and the eye to be right. How much account does God put upon the integrity of an honest heart!—"Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!" John, i. 47:—such an one will get a "*Behold*" put on him, *even from Christ*. Amaziah, though he "did that which was right in the sight of the Lord," yet is he blotted for this, that it was "not with a perfect heart." 2 Chron. xxv. 2. See a strong expression to this purpose, Jer. iv. 18,—"Thy way and thy doings have procured these things unto thee; this is thy wickedness, because it is bitter, because *it reacheth unto thy*

heart." What duty, therefore, is there on us to be watchful, especially, *over the heart!* Iniquity regarded *there,* may make God not hear thy prayers, Psal. lxvi. 18; *a vain thought* must not be allowed to lodge *there* for a moment. Jer. iv. 14. Nothing does more evidence a man to be in a good condition, as to the watching over his heart, than low and sober thoughts of himself, especially when in any measure eminency of gifts and parts are attained unto. See some Scriptures to this purpose; as Rom. xii. 3, "For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith." How true is that which the Apostle saith, 1 Cor. viii. 1, "Knowledge puffeth up:"—*they* are in a good condition that can apply the next words, in verse 2, as a pertinent check to their vain mind, "If any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know." "For if a man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself." Gal. vi. 3. See the excellency of this frame of spirit notably set forth by David, as being his own condition, Psal. cxxxi. 1, 2, "Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty, neither do I exercise myself in great matters, or in things too high for me," &c. What a rare mercy, for *such* a man, raised from such a low condition to so high a degree, both in goods of the body and gifts of the mind, and yet to set and behave himself so low as *a weaned child!* what a great evidence of a sincere heart, and of a quiet and sober mind!

But I shall shortly speak a word to some par-

ticulars, which I have found, both in practice and observation, in myself and others, as to the exercise of this notable gift of sobriety, evidenced by the modesty of the mind in the use of spiritual and inward gifts.—Commonly, we have more in our account the *gifted* man than the *gracious* man; whereas, he that cannot speak good sense, or six right words to purpose, may yet have more grace and sincerity in the heart, than he who can *talk like a parrot and pray like an angel.* For *such there are*, and too sad experience, in these times, makes the truth of it appear, without need of probation. [See Appendix, BB.] Even the gracious heart, (for want of such a proportion of humility, as may keep him low in the exercise of these his excellent gifts,) may be so far deserted, as not to see, that *these* are withering and decaying daily, nor are improved to the honour of his Master. The evil of this judgment, the Lord, in much mercy to his faithful servants, does many times prevent; by letting loose, either some bitter, persecuting enemy, or some raging corruption, as a messenger of Satan, to buffet them;—thus bringing and keeping them low. Paul's experience, 2 Cor. xii. 7, very fully warrants this point. How was he, by such means, kept from a very dreadful evil,—even that of being, through the abundance of revelations, exalted above measure! Yea, how was he, notwithstanding all his great privileges and eminent parts, brought to be *very low;* and so kept there, as that he dares not now glory in any such thing, but rather in his infirmities! The considerations, which may conduce most for keeping low the heart of a believer, eminently furnished with grace and gifts, [are such as these,]—that he has nothing but what he has re-

ceived, 1 Cor. iv. 7,—that if he could attain to do all that he is commanded, yet were he to look upon himself but as an unprofitable servant. Luke xvii. 10.

[And further,] the humble believer is kept always very sober, because he knows that he hath in him *the root of all evil;* yea, he finds the actings of this dreadful, and soul-humbling evil, of *a body of sin and death,* so abounding in him daily, that were there no other consideration to keep him humble and sober all his days, *this* would do it. No eminency of parts, nor degree or measure of grace, is so attainable by the best of believers here, but,—from the consideration of the being and lively stirrings of a body of death within him,—he shall find *matter of much sobriety,*—yea, *of being brought low and laid in the dust;* so as to cry out with Paul, that eminently furnished and gifted saint, Rom. vii. 24, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" [See Appendix, CC.]

Again, the heart of the believer,—being so very sensible of its vileness and loathsome nature, and of the inexpressible holiness and glorious purity of the majesty of God, "who is of purer eyes" than that he can "behold evil" or "look on iniquity," Hab. i. 13,—is rather taken up with admiration, why he is not, for the defects and vileness of his best service, consumed. A true sight of the majesty of the God whom we serve, would, doubtless, put us so far out of the hazard of being vainly puffed up with any thing we have, or can do; that, with the Prophet in the like case, Isai. vi. 5, having seen the Lord in his glory, "high and lifted up," we should cry out, "Woe is me, for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips!" O, then, how may we wonder with David,

Psal. viii. 4, that ever he should have *minded* us! how much more, that thus he should admit us in his presence,—yea, send messengers and ambassadors, to *beseech* us to be reconciled to him! 2 Cor. v. 20 — that the majesty of so glorious a God, who inhabiteth eternity, and fills heaven and earth, should yet profess, that it is *his delight* to hear the voice of such *a chattering crane!* Canticles, ii. 14, and Isai. xxxviii. 14,—that He, of whom it is said, he "humbleth himself to behold the things that are in heaven and in the earth," who hath the heaven for his throne and the earth is but his footstool, Isai. lxvi. 1, whom the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain, 1 Kings, viii. 27,—that He who made all these things, and even before he made them, should have counted *his delights to be with the children of men!* Prov. viii. 31. And yet *all this* is but little, in comparison of what he hath done to and for us. "For God SO loved the world, *that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life,*" John, iii. 16. Here there is *such a SO*, that neither angels nor men, nor all of them in heaven and earth together, can imagine any thing comparable to it. The angels, who are the quickest-sighted of any of God's creatures, though they have been now beholding, for divers thousands of years, this mystery of God's love manifested to lost man, yet have they not *attained*,—nor ever shall they; for, throughout all eternity it shall be *their exercise*, to pry into and behold this mystery. 1 Peter, i. xii. As also they have it, in time, more fully made out to them *by the dispensations of God to his church*, than formerly it hath been. Ephes. iii. 10.——I say, the right discovery, but of a little of these things that are

to be known of the glory of our God, may serve to bring the creature *very low;* and so to keep him, in a sober manner, *at the use of his duty*, without pride or ostentation, though he had even attained to *angelical perfection* in gifts and grace. For, albeit, *they* be very far beyond any thing *we* have, or can attain to; yet they *stand amazed*, and *cover their feet and faces* too, at the beholding of His excellent glory! Isai. vi. 2.

Though the believer be very sensible of what he hath received, and be ready, upon all occasions, to praise God for the least measure of what he hath, either of grace or gifts, knowing that it is purchased to him *only through the mediation of Jesus Christ;* yet the consideration *of what he wants*, keeps him very low. If Paul, that chosen vessel, so eminently furnished for the work of God, counted himself *not to have attained*, but that it was his duty to strive hard after more, Phil. iii. 12, 13, how much more matter hast *thou* to be very humble, even upon this account! thou art far short not only of what thou *shouldst*, but of what thou *mightst* have been at, hadst thou been rightly improving the opportunities of grace thou hast had in thy offer. Perfection, (I mean, that measure of it which is attainable here,) is that which thou oughtst to be at, and shouldst be striving for. "Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect," Matt. v. 48; and, 2 Cor. vii. 1, "Perfecting holiness in the fear of God;"—*here* is held forth the duty of our endeavour; and that the will of God *may* "be done on earth," with as cheerful willingness "as it is in heaven," (that is, in a good measure, according to the capacity of our low condition,) is not doubted,—or else our Lord would never have taught us daily to pray for it.

But,—have what measure thou wilt,—how far short art thou both of gifts and grace! [See Appendix, DD.]

Thus, [in order] to be about thy duty, *be therefore sober*, and *humbly make use of what thou hast, as the readiest way to come by more;* for God "gives grace to the humble," 1 Peter, v. 5, and in Isai. lvii. 15, he says, that he will "revive the spirit of the humble." Again, in the humiliating consideration of what we might have been, had we rightly improved the opportunities put into our hands, may we not take up that complaint against ourselves, and justly find ourselves liable to censure for it, which the Apostle, Heb. v. 12, hath against the Christians of those times,—"For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again, which be the first principles of the oracles of God." How gross is our ignorance, how little are our enjoyments in comparison of what they might have been, had we been diligent seekers of and close walkers with God! How might our knowledge have been increased as the morning light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day! Prov. iv. 18. But, as the Lord threatens to do to the wicked, as a great judgment on them, that their knowledge shall be darkened, when they have most to do with light, Prov. xxiv. 20, and Job, xxi. 17;—see if the *godly* may not be afraid, that, many times, *their candle be blown out*, and *they left in much darkness*, because they have not *entertained and walked up to the practice of the light which they had*. So then, our not improving the blessed opportunities we have had, being the cause why we are so far short of what we might have been at,—*this* should make us rather mourn and be humbled for our shortcomings, than any way puffed up with what we have.

Moreover, the believer knows well, that if he hath *much*, he has *the more to do with it;* Luke, xii. 48, "For to whomsoever much is given, of him much will be required." And not only so, but where *God gives much, Satan envies much.* He tempted the disciples of Christ *before* their conversion, as he does *other* men; but *now* Christ tells them, Luke, xxii. 31, especially Peter, that Satan desired to have him, that he might sift him as wheat. When Joshua is before the angel of the Lord, about the putting off his filthy garments, then Satan is nearest and most ready at his right hand to resist him. Zech. iii. 1, 2, 3. If there be a Job in the land, that hath more than all his neighbours, so that there is none for grace and eminent parts like unto him; if there be any possibility to find him in a snare, how will Satan set hell on work to find it out. I say, nothing may prove more effectual for keeping humble the holy heart, than a due consideration of watchful diligence of so powerful and desperate an enemy; whose malice and diligence they know well to be much against them,—therefore are they much in the exercise of these duties of *sobriety* and *watchfulness.*

The believer considers duly, how great offence his miscarriage would give:—"If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" Matt. vi. 23. How does the Lord by the prophet Nathan, 2 Sam. xii. 8 and 14, [adjudge or enhance] the sin of David? "I gave thee thy master's house, and thy master's wives into thy bosom, and gave thee the house of Israel and of Judah; and if that had been too little, I would moreover have given unto thee such and such things."—Hast thou gotten much? Guide it well; else, the miscarriage of it, will be a sad ingre-

dient in the bitter cup of thy just and severe censure from the Lord. O, the fear of giving occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme! how powerful a means may it be, to keep a humble heart in a constant, sober frame; seeing they know, that *at no passage* can Satan have *more easy entry* to the heart, than *by opening this backdoor of vain glory.* Solomon also, who, as to great and eminent parts, was beyond all that went before or hath come after him, how was he assaulted, and, nevertheless of all his—large and great endowments, was prevailed over! may this give matter of *fear* and *trembling* to *every* one, especially to *the ablest and best-gifted believers.* 1 Kings, xi. 1, 2, 3, &c. But observe, from verse 9, how his guiltiness is [adjudged or enhanced] from this—that he had *turned from the Lord, who had appeared unto him twice;* God's appearing to him, and appearing to him twice, is by the Spirit observed, as that, which should have had the *more* obligation to him to sobriety and watchfulness. The humble believer, however large his endowments may be, yet knowing well, that it it is not against flesh and blood that we wrestle, but against principalities and powers, against rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual wickedness in high places—I say, knowing this his enemy, he knows well also, that though he have on the whole armour of God, he will find work enough to withstand in the evil day; and having done all that he can, he will find no small difficulty to be kept from fleeing, and turning his back upon Christ;—for so much is imported in the words, "And having *done all,* to *stand.*" See Ephes. vi. 10 to 13. Wherefore, remembering the exhortation of the Apostle, 1 Cor. x. 12, he makes it his daily work, though

he know that he stands, to be taking heed lest he fall.

There is another thing, which is an evil too frequent and common, even to good men, by which is evidenced very much the want of this excellent gift of sobriety; namely, When a good man, who, formerly, both for eminency of grace and parts, hath been deservedly much in account and estimation with all men,—when such a man begins to find himself to be undervalued, and others, who some time were far *below* him, now to be preferred *before* him,—this is not ordinarily found, by the best of men, easy to be borne; and yet this excellent gift of sobriety, were it well learned, might very much help, *sweetly and contentedly to go under it.* Take two or three considerations, which may help to a quiet, sober submitting in this or the like case.

Let the gracious heart soberly consider, if there may not be good cause why their estimation, purchased upon the account of the eminency of their parts, may not *justly* be denied them; the Lord, who *gave* these things, having, for causes known to *himself*, and it may be also to *thee*, *withdrawn* them again, how darest thou complain?—rather sit down, and admire and praise him for his goodness, that he has not taken away gifts and grace too. I confess, there may be much offence and too just cause for it, from the imprudent carriage of many godly persons, who know not rightly how to demean themselves in such a case; not considering, that they stand still obliged, where God continues *grace* and *honesty*, there to continue due *respect* and *regard* to the *person*, whatever his *decay of parts* may be.

John was a man extraordinarily sent, and emi-

nently furnished for his work: when it is told him, John, iii. 26, that *all* men were leaving *him* and following *Christ*, what answers he? verse 30, "*He* must increase, and *I* must decrease," and "my joy is *therefore* fulfilled," verse 29.—O what abundance of sobriety is here! See also Numbers, xi. 29. The case is the same in our days; though, to some, it may appear very absurd to say it. It is true, it does not hold in main things; nor is it needful it should; but, in the many, it does. O that *the good old men*, and some *younger* also, who have worthily deserved praise for their faithfulness and honesty in the work of God hitherto, would observe, and condescend to see themselves outstripped, seeing *Christ* is *thereby* getting glory: however *they* may be decreasing, (yea, and it must be so,) yet, if *He* be increasing, will they not rejoice? I am persuaded many of them would, yea, I dare not doubt, but all of them, who are truly such, would become *any thing* for Christ. But they see not the truth of what is alleged, yea, they have strong apprehensions that it is otherwise; yet are they warranted in bearing with the infirmities of such, and in adoring our glorious Lord, as well as in wondering at his way, who can so make out his purposes, by manifesting all flesh to be as grass, Isai. xl. 6. *So it hath been in all generations before us:* the providence of God is carrying on his work in the *present* age, though, ordinarily, his dispensation is *obscure* and *dark* to most of *those, who have been active and eminent instruments in bringing it thus far;* the Lord in his wisdom thinking fit so to dispose, lest any creature should share in his glory. See a very clear instance of this in Ezra, iii. 12, 13,—"But many of the priests and Levites, and chief of the fathers,

who were ancient men, that had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice; and many shouted aloud for joy," &c. But it is a sad case, when God's servants, through their passion, prejudice, or mistake of the work of God, draw this desertion on themselves; so hath it been formerly: see it clearly held forth in the case of Moses and Aaron, Numbers, xx. 12,—"The Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, Because ye believed me not, to sanctify me in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them." And, would God! there were not too much cause to say, that *so it is in these nations with many godly men at this day*. See, to this purpose also, that notable place in Ezek. xliv. 7, 8, 9, compared with verse 15, 16, &c.

But I shall leave this sad subject; and close up my thoughts on 1 Peter, iv. 7, with some considerations on the last words, "Watch unto prayer." . . . . . How much advantage it may be of to us, in all our exercise of daily watching, to be frequently minding death,—the experienced Christian knows. And, should I tell my own experience here, (though it be but very little, as to any thing of this kind,) I hope I may say, that considerations of a dying condition, which I have been in, now, for divers years together, have been very useful to me. If we were once brought this length, to be denying ourselves as to the things of a present world, so as, though using them, it were in a manner *by constraint*, our daily exercise and delight [being centred in] desires *to be away* and *to be with Christ*;—if we knew, with the Apostle, what that means, Phil. i. 23,

to be in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is best of all;—if, for this, we were groaning earnestly, to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven, 2 Cor. v. 2;—then would our watching, in the daily course thereof, be not a little furthered, by our always bearing in view thoughts of death, waiting with Job, xiv. 14, all the days of our appointed time until our change come.

As Satan ofttimes keeps back many gracious hearts from receiving Christ, by making them rest on their *performances* and the actings of *gracious habits* that are in them; so, many times, when this snare is discovered, he has another hard at hand, by which he keeps off many such from closing in with Christ, so as to give him welcome entertainment;—and that is, by making them go faintingly and with much discouragement about the duty of receiving him. And in this snare, they are the more easily entangled, inasmuch as it passeth with them *under the name of humility*, for them to be always in this *mourning* or, as I may rather call it, *murmuring* condition.

While I was thus about thoughts of *mourning*, and the right properties and qualifications of it, I began to think, what matter of mourning and humiliation I had; and therefore resolved, to set apart the next day, being Friday the 8th day of May, 1657, for seeking God by fasting and prayer. The causes that then did most occur to my consideration, were mainly these three.—First, In relation to my own condition,—that I might lament and mourn for *the sins of my youth*, which I desire may be "ever before me."—Secondly, In relation to *the condition of the people*

of God in these times,—that the Lord would arise, and carry on his great work, which seems, as matters now go, to be at a very great loss.—Thirdly, In relation to *my family*, and more especially my wife,—to seek God on her behalf, both for her soul's and body's condition, [she being near her confinement.]

And, to the praise of God, I must acknowledge his goodness, that however dull and senseless I was that day, in the duty of seeking to him, yet, in this, he was gracious unto me;—that though, as to *the external performance*, and assistance in the outward duty, I had less that day than ordinarily; yet were *the things themselves more on my heart*, and, I trust I may say, in a more believing way, hoped for. *That* day was my wife taken ill, and the next morning was well brought to bed of a son;—which I take as an answer to prayer, yea, a preventing of me rather, according as is promised in Isai. lxv. 24,—"And it shall come to pass, that before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear." I conceive myself, (and have expressed it so to the Lord,) as more obliged than ever, to watch over my heart in keeping communion with God; and more particularly, seeing he continues the comfort of wife and children with me, I am the more obliged to watch over my heart, as to the enjoying of them, and all things else of that kind; that I may labour to get and keep loose my heart from being sinfully engaged. And I desire to labour to make use of this time, that hereafter shall be granted to me, of the sweet comfort of their fellowship, for the preparing my heart, and having it so framed, that I may know how to be content to want, as well as to abound, Phil. iv. 12,—how to want any or all of them, if the Lord should so

think fit. In this endeavour, I conceive myself called to be very diligent, seeing my heart to be too much engaged and entangled with them, or tempted so to be; that if the Lord should be pleased to remove any of these from me, or me from them, I might quietly and contentedly submit, and agree to his blessed will. Another reason is, that I conceive I have not long to enjoy them, but either I am to be removed from them, or they from me; and that this time is given me of the Lord, to prepare for such a case.

My wife being brought to bed of a son, I was a little straitened about the baptizing of him; at last, after seeking God in the matter, I resolved to have him baptized in the ordinary manner, if I could find any godly minister, (though he were of the Presbyterian judgment,) that would perform the duty in a private manner, and would give me liberty, at the doing of it, to declare,—that it was not my desire to have my son baptized upon any other account, than as a member of the *catholic or universal church;* seeing I do not believe that, in the Holy Scriptures, there is any warrant for constituting gospel churches *in a national way.* After conference with Mr. John Sinclair, minister of Ormston, about this point, I found him clear on that point,—that baptism was no constituting ordinance; and that he could very freely baptize my child, on that same account which I desired, as a member of the catholic church, seeing he knew my judgment to be against the national way of constitution.

Thus I resolved, for the present, for peace sake; *I not being a member of any gathered church,* and at a distance from those Christians, with whom formerly I walked in fellowship at Aberdeen, (which, if I could

have enjoyed, I should have thought it my duty rather to have chosen it, than any other;)—[and this was done,] that I might give an evidence to the godly men of the Presbyterian way, of my willingness to live peaceably and in love with them, partaking with them in all duties, so far as I may do it without sin; though in the matter of their constitution and form of government I differ from them.

The 12th day being appointed by the said Mr. John Sinclair and me, for his coming to Newbattle to baptize the said child, when he came, he was unwilling that I should make any such declaration. He alleged, that if I should speak this publicly, it would occasion the Presbytery to trouble him, and therefore besought me to forbear. I having, a long time before that, thought of the matter, concluded, that without some such expression in public, at the time of baptizing the child, I could not admit the doing of it by any of the national church. Whereupon he moved, that some other might present the child, to which I yielded, being loath to be the occasion of his trouble; so, Robert Porteous the younger, bailie [or alderman] of Newbattle, presented the child, the 12th of May, 1657; his name being Thomas, after my dear brother that was killed at Dunbar.

What the Lord's purpose to me in this may be, I desire to observe,—that, these six years by-gone, the opportunity of presenting any of my children to receive that ordinance, hath been denied me, sometimes by my absence, either in London or Edinburgh; only, at this time, I was in the place, and yet could not be present at that action, as aforesaid.

CHAPTER VIII.

1657: OBSERVATIONS ON MATTHEW XII. 43, &c.—ENCOURAGEMENT FROM CERTAIN PORTIONS OF HOLY WRIT—PROSPERITY AND ADVERSITY—ALEXANDER JAFFRAY ENGAGES HIMSELF AFRESH UNTO THE LORD—HIS DESIRES IN PRAYER ON BEHALF OF SOME AT ABERDEEN—HE MEETS WITH AN ACCIDENT—UPRIGHTNESS IN KEEPING FROM INIQUITY—JOURNEY TO ABERDEEN—HE NOTICES SOME UNWATCHFULNESS—THE ILLNESS OF HIS SON ANDREW—HE REMOVES HIS RESIDENCE TO ABBEY HILL—VOWS AND PROMISES ARE VAIN, WITHOUT STRIVING AGAINST SIN—1658: COMFORT FROM SOME SCRIPTURES—HE IS INSNARED IN TEMPTATION. THE DEATH OF HIS SON JOHN—HE RECOUNTS THE MANIFOLD MERCIES DEALT OUT TO HIM—THE BIRTH OF TWIN CHILDREN—ON CONFORMITY.

It is said in Matt. xii. 43,—When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he seeks rest and finds none; that is to say, he has no pleasure so much to be in any place as in *that* heart, out of which he has been once removed or cast out; and therefore his endeavour is, by all means, to be in there again. And finding the room, since his removal, not washed and thoroughly purged as it should have been, (see Jer. iv. 14,) but only emptied, swept, and garnished, as the word there is,—that is to say, all outward scandalous sins are abstained from, and duties diligently practised,—the house is emptied of the one, and well swept and garnished with the other, but there is no inward purging and washing out of "vain thoughts" and the like,—I say, when the poor heart's case is thus *very well in its own estimation;* yet, now is it in no less hazard than that of being, on Satan's re-entrance, made worse than before. O let us then be careful, if Satan be not out, to get him out; and if he be gone, to keep

him out. And, if I be not mistaken greatly in my experience, there will be much more work for thee to do, to keep him out, than there was at first to put him out. For sometimes at first, he will remove *with consent*, intending *to return with advantage;* then brings he with him, seven worse devils than himself. But, being out, if thou strive to keep him so, by closing doors on him, and opening them to Christ, he will then be on thee as a lion, to tear and rend thee to pieces.

The truth of this, though it hath formerly been made out to me in my experience, yet never so, as at this present time; Satan having, now for some years, been without doors with me, as to the practice of any open or scandalous sin; and finding, upon his return, the house of my heart in some good measure *adorned with public, private, and secret duties*, O how he is endeavouring now again to enter!—and woe to me, if he do! This day, the 16th of May, was set apart for the purpose of suing help in this case. So strong and mighty an adversary have I to do with, that it is of the Lord's admirable goodness, I am not *utterly run down* and undone before him. I find that Scripture, Ephes. vi. 12, made well out unto me, "We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." There is, indeed, a mighty enemy; but we have an almighty Lord against him, who hath already, on our behalf, wholly routed and subdued him; he, having led captivity captive, hath ascended on high, Psal. lxviii. 18, and there he hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, Matt. xxviii. 18; so that now, the serpent's

head being broken, he can only but bruise our heel. He will not leave off, still, to be about our heels, and at our right hand to resist us; but our Lord will rebuke him, Zech. iii. 1, 2; for, we have not a High Priest, which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin, Heb. iv. 15; and, in that he suffered, being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted, chap. ii. 18. Let us, therefore, come boldly to the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need, chap. iv. 16.

But Satan, not willing so to give over his hope of reentrance in the heart, hath made on me more furious assaults than ever; taking most advantage now, where he is not a little strengthened against me, by his knowledge of my temper and frame of natural constitution. Most frequent and furious are his temptations, and more than formerly, where he finds my temper and natural disposition to be most inclined. But my Lord, who can bring light out of darkness, and meat out of the eater, Judges, xiv. 14, I trust, *is to give me, ere it be long, a blessed advantage, by drawing me the more close and near home, to himself.* Blessed be my Lord! my hope was this day confirmed, that it *will* be so; and the desires and stirrings up of my soul were renewed to follow hard after him, as I might attain to. Psal. lxiii. 8, 9, "My soul followeth hard after thee, thy right hand upholdeth me; but those that seek my soul to destroy it, shall go to the lowest parts of the earth," that is, to the lowest hell. O, when shall that unclean spirit be bound, and cast into that bottomless pit, and shut up there, that he may deceive the nations no more! Rev. xx. 2, 3.

I was this day much encouraged from the consideration of these, and some such Scriptures.—Psal. xxvii. 13, "I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living."—Verse 14, "Wait on the Lord; be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thine heart: wait, I say, on the Lord."—Prov. xxiv. 10, "If thou faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small."—Isai. xxxviii. 14, "O Lord! I am oppressed; undertake for me;" compared with Acts, x. 38, where it is said of Christ, that he "went about, healing all that were oppressed of the devil."—Heb. xii. 4, "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin."—Heb. x. 36, "Ye have need of patience, that, after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise;" [as connected with those other passages] 1 Peter, v. 10, and Ephes. i. 13, "But the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffered awhile, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you." "In whom, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise."

Adversity and an afflicted condition, either inward or outward, or both together, is no sure mark of God's displeasure, no more than prosperity is of his love. The truth of this was not well known to those of older times. Job's friends mistook [in this point;] they conceived, God never dealt with a believer [as he had with Job.] "To which of the saints wilt thou turn?" said they, chap. v. ver. 1—as if none of the saints had ever been so dealt with; and therefore they concluded *him* a hypocrite. Job himself also, though rightly, against his friends, he maintains his integrity; yet, how ignorant was he of the mind of

God in the dispensation towards him, until the Lord himself made it known; and then, he abhorred himself in dust and ashes. How far was Asaph [disposed] to mistake,—[even so] that he was ready to conclude, it was vain to serve God [and cleanse his heart, Psal. lxxiii. 13, 17, until he went into the sanctuary, then he understood the end of the wicked.] So Jeremiah, xii. 1, and Habakkuk, i. 13, 14, &c. Albeit, the truth of this case was not so unknown, but that some of God's servants, at their dear-bought experience, knew his mind herein. As Solomon, in Eccles. ix. 1, "No man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before them." So then, neither from prosperity nor adversity [merely,] may there be any sure conclusion drawn, of a good condition; and the ignorance of this was, and is to this day, the occasion of much mistake to many a good man, in judging of their state. If, in the sight of God, thou mayst truly say, in the sincerity of thy heart, that the first motions and risings of corruption, and the suggestions and buffetings of Satan, are indeed matter of grief and sorrow to thee; that thou art often with the Lord in the duties of prayer, fasting, &c. for the removing of these; though Satan be raging, and corruption appear more than ever, *fear them not:*—wonder and praise God, that, both in the timing and moderating of the temptation, *thou knowest and seest thy enemy.* Might he not have let thee have been surprised? O, then, what duty is there for thee *to fear!*—but *fear not to be overcome;*—for, as truly as God lives, thou wilt get the victory—if thou wilt but *stand*, Satan then will flee away, James, iv. 7; and thou wilt get power, even to trample him under thy feet shortly. Rom. xvi. 20. Yet again, I say, fear not to be over-

come, but rather that thou turn lazy or weary, and let down thy watch. "Happy is the man that," in this sense, "feareth alway." Prov. xxviii. 14.

It was, this day, the 30th of May, 1657, my earnest desire to the Lord, for his help to practise what I know. I find from sad experience, that Satan [has taken advantage] by reason of my unwatchfulness, and not stirring up myself to the exercise of faith in, and hope of the Lord's coming, who would give me a full out-get [from the power] of some corruptions, not yet mortified in me. For which cause I did, this day, *more solemnly engage myself to the Lord than ever before*, that in his strength I would strive more against sin, resisting more the first motions and risings of it in my heart; and resolved to abridge myself more, even in the use of lawful pleasures; lest, if the full length of what may be conceived lawful, be reached unto, I may not be able to know where thereafter to stop. The Lord help me to sobriety and watchfulness; for sad is my case, if I be not now *in these* more than ever. But, I trust my Lord is near me, and was this morning; for, all I undertake is in his strength to be done—without him I can do nothing.

The 4th of August, I put up a desire to the Lord, for direction in my going or not going to Aberdeen; my good father, and other friends there, having desired me and my wife to come. For answer in this, I purpose to wait, with some confidence, that the Lord *will order me in it.*

I was labouring to remember such as fear God *there;* in particular, my father in law and his family; [See Appendix, EE.]—that the Lord would pity him, and give him, before his death, to repent for his bitterness to, and persecution of such as fear God

there;—that the Lord would direct his son, Mr. Andrew, in his undertaking of the ministry, *that he run not unsent*, but that he may be *furnished* and *directed of the Lord;* and particularly, that the Lord would order his coming, or not, to Newbattle, so as may be most for his glory, and the good of these poor people;—that the Lord *would find out some way*, that the gospel may be more powerfully preached at Aberdeen, and the ordinances of Christ in a pure, gospel way administered; that he would furnish and thrust forth Mr. Alexander White and Mr. Alexander Gordon for that purpose;—that the Lord would forgive Mr. John Menzies and Mr. Alexander Cant for their scandal and offence, by their bitter and unchristian-like carriage one towards another; whereby God is so much dishonoured, the mouths of the wicked being thereby so much opened, and the hearts of the godly made sad; and that he would prevent any thing further of that kind, among those that fear him.

I was also, this day, convinced, that I am and have been, these divers weeks by-gone, in hazard of withering and decaying, rather than making any progress in advancing in holiness and mortification, nevertheless of all the vows and promises that are on me; and therefore again purposed, in the strength of Christ, to set about my duty anew; waiting for the performance of that promise, Isai. xl. 31, "They that wait on the Lord shall renew their strength," &c.

The 11th day, I had new occasion to praise God, for delivering my son Andrew and me from the danger of a fall from my horse; and for ordering, that the horse did run very near by, and not over him, &c.

The 14th day, and the night preceding, I had a

large experience of my weakness, by reason of unwatchfulness against the wiles and subtleties of the devil; whereupon, I was intending, in the strength of Christ, again to renew my vows, of endeavouring more closely to walk with God; especially against that sin, wherein I am most assaulted, and which I may call *my iniquity*. And, considering that place, Psal. xviii. 23, where David says, "I was upright before him, and kept myself from my iniquity," I find, there must be *much* integrity and uprightness in the heart that would keep itself from its iniquity. Want of this uprightness, this *sincerity*, which the Spirit, Rev. iii. 2, challenges in the church of Sardis, is the cause of unwatchfulness; without which, the things that remain and are ready to die cannot be strengthened. My desire and prayer to the Lord, therefore, was, for grace to be more upright, more sincere, and "perfect" in his sight, and so be better kept from my iniquity.

The 22nd, having resolved upon my journey to Aberdeen, I was seeking of the Lord, that his presence may go with me, and abide with my family; and having spoken to them, and such of my children as understand, and exhorted them the best I could; my heart was some way helped to rely on God for direction to them. My wife being at this time to go with me, who formerly always was present with them, makes me the more afraid for their miscarriage in this place, where there are so few to visit them, or take care of them; and therefore was I the more earnest, in recommending them to the Lord; and, by his grace, I intend to observe, and be more thankful for the mercies they shall meet with. It was also, this day, remembered by me, with a desire of thank-

fulness,—how gracious the Lord was to me and my family, in directing our journey *hither;* and in guiding us by the way, both by sea and land; and in blessing us since with health and protection; for these and many such mercies, what matter of praise have I to God, and of engagement of heart again anew unto him!

The 1st of September, being advanced on my journey the length of Stonehaven, and made to stop there by a stormy day, I had some assistance in prayer,—both to praise God for his presence with me so far in my journey, and to seek of him, with some confidence, his direction and presence for the time to come.

The 2nd day being yet a more tempestuous day of rain, I was stayed at [*Geillie branses;*] but before my coming thither, I was, with my wife and servant, very mercifully delivered at the burne [stream] of Muchels [a few miles north of Stonehaven,] where we were very near to have been carried down with the speat [or land flood;] but the Lord rescued us, and within some short time thereafter, these burnes were past all possibility of riding.

The 3rd day, having come safely with my wife to Aberdeen, I found matter of rejoicing that all my friends were well; and staid there until the 17th day. Though my time was not so well spent as it should have been; yet was I minding, as I could, to seek God on behalf of such as fear him there, apart for some, and together with others, exhorting and admonishing, weakly, as I could; but I failed most in this,—that I could not, (by reason of some differences betwixt my father in law and me, about some civil particulars,) attain so fit and convenient

occasion, of speaking my mind to him and his two sons about divers things, that have for a long time been on my mind as a duty I owe them, on the account both of natural and spiritual obligation.

The 17th day, I parted from Aberdeen, and came to Newbattle the 21st day; where I was desiring, to remember with thankfulness the Lord's goodness and sweet providence, in leading me and my wife abroad, in being with us there, and returning us so safely home again, also making me to meet with my family and dear children in health and peace.

Having had so large experience of my Lord's willingness to hear prayer, I do think myself the more engaged, to wait upon and believe in him, while I live; [according to the language,] Psal. cxvi. 1, 2, "I love the Lord, because he hath heard my voice and my supplications. Because he hath inclined his ear unto me, therefore will I call upon him as long as I live."

The 23rd of September, I was much convinced of my heart's corruption, and Satan's working on it, taking advantage of my weakness and unwatchfulness, to stir me up to the sin of passion, *in speaking too sharply to my servants;* and therefore I was desiring, in the Lord's strength, to watch and pray more against that sin of passion and bitterness. Matt. v. 22. "Whosoever is angry with his *brother* without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment;" and again, Ephes. vi. 9, "Ye masters, do the same [good] things unto them, forbearing threatening: knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him." Considering these passages, I find much cause to moderate my way in this; and in order that the tongue may be ruled,

which is such an unruly evil, James, iii. 6, the heart must be purged, and the evil [dried up, extirpated] at the root, or all will be in vain. Ezek. xxxvi. 26, *a new heart* and *a new spirit* is promised; for *that* is the fountain out of which proceedeth all the evil we are guilty of. Matt. xv. 19.

The 25th of October, my son Andrew having been visited with sickness, I caused him to be carried to Edinburgh; and both in the timing and way of his carriage and return, the Lord was very merciful, and his hand observable in directing the cure applied to him; for which there remains much duty on us to be thankful. But yet, there was sad matter of regret for unthankfulness, and much unwatchfulness; and cause of fear, that we may miss the mind of the Lord in such dispensations. This is, as I conceive, one main thing the Lord aims at, both in me and my wife,—that our hearts may be loosed from the inordinate and extravagant love to him, or any of the rest of our children; and that we may learn to give them up, and *wholly over unto God*,—to be continued with, or removed from us, at *his* pleasure. But alas, how little evidence of any such thing, does there appear in any of us! therefore, I take it much my duty, to be very earnest with God in this particular; lest He be offended, and even *they* may suffer *for our sakes*.

That day, I was seeking of the Lord, that I might be directed, in transporting my family from this place, *when and where the Lord should please*.—The 6th of November, having taken a house near the Abbey, I meant to carry my children the first fair day, and was seeking direction for that effect. The 7th day, three of my children were conveyed thither, upon the return of the servants, [who] went with them. When

I was giving thanks to the Lord for the fair day and safe passages they had gotten, it was borne in upon my mind,—that the Lord, who so frequently heard me in these and the like things, *was ready to hear me in better things*, if faith were more acted, in seeking and waiting for them. I was also here remembering my laziness in watching, and looseness in keeping communion with God; and in his strength laboured anew, to engage my heart to more closeness, and watchful walking with him.

The 9th and 10th days, myself, my wife, and the rest of my children, came safely to our house near the Abbey, called the Abbey Hill, all in good health,—which I promised to remember, as a mercy from the Lord. Yet was I, very shortly, forgetful, and by unwatchfulness miscarried in some things in my conversation, which, before the Lord, I had more than once very solemnly promised to strive against, and in his strength to abstain from. But I perceive, that,—to strive against *the act of sin* by vows, promises, and the like, when *the root of the evil* is not most of all striven against in the heart, and faith acted, upon the faithfulness, power, and love of Christ, for casting out the idol, or mortifying the lust that is striven against;—I say, while this course is fallen upon, all other endeavours will be but vain. *If iniquity be regarded in the heart, God will not hear thy prayer*, Psal. lxvi. 18, though it be never so frequent and fervent. Endeavour therefore to get that abhorring, that indignation, that revenge against the very first motions and rising of sin in thy heart, which is mentioned in 2 Cor. vii. 11.

The 11th of January, 1658. I find not only no progress made, nor victory obtained against the evils

of my heart,—especially against the predominant evils of my nature and complexion; but rather, their prevailing against me. These three Scriptures occurred, with some advantage and comfort to me. First, that of Prov. xxiv. 10, "If thou faint in the day of adversity, thy strength is small:"—fear to dishonour God by misbelief was like a staff to me, setting me yet to work, *still to wait on him for victory*, notwithstanding my frequent and sad failings. Secondly, that in Isai. xxxviii. 14, "O Lord! I am oppressed; undertake for me:"—when my oppression is greatest, then is my deliverance nearest, as in Isai. xli. 17, "When the poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst, I the Lord will hear them, I the God of Israel will not forsake them," &c. also Isai. lix. 19, "When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him." The third Scripture was that language of Hezekiah, in Isai. xxxviii. 15, "I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul,"—taking the sense, with the Dutch divines, in their annotations on the place—because of my former failings and the bitterness I now find, thereby, I mind to walk more warily and more circumspectly, all my days. To do this, was my purpose and desire in the strength of Christ.

Not many days thereafter, namely, upon the 25th day of the said month, notwithstanding all my former resolutions and engagements, I was again overcome by the slight and subtlety of my adversary;—or rather, I may say, through the unwatchfulness and desperate wickedness of my own heart, insnared in the same guiltiness, which I was labouring and praying to resist and to get subdued,—but all in

vain, for Christ is not yet come for my delivery; and it is only by Christ and grace from him, that the body of sin and death must be subdued. It is, through the Spirit, that the deeds of the body must be mortified. Rom. viii. 13.—Upon the very next day, my son John, having been sick but two days before, was removed by death. The concurring of these things so together, gave me matter of much humiliation and fear.—Whereupon, on the 1st of February, I set some time apart, in this my sad condition, to seek the Lord;—for yet, I hope, he may be found,—yea, I know, and desire to rest fully assured, *He is near that justifies me*, Rom. x. 8, 9, and, in due time, will sanctify me wholly, 1 Thess. v. 23. My special desire, this day, to the Lord was,—seeing I had so good ground to believe, sin should not have dominion over me, Rom. vi. 14,—that he would stay and establish my faith, as to this point; for Satan, by his often assaulting, and so frequent prevailing against me, would have me doubt of this,—as if my corruption were *so great*, and *deeply rooted in my nature*, that God either *could not* or *would not* help me. But, having laid aside this temptation, and, through grace, in some measure gotten the upper hand of it,—so as that I resolve, through his strength, *never to doubt of his power*, nor yet *of his willingness, and faithfulness to fulfil his promise;*—my exercise was most, what and how to do in the mean time, until *the vision speak*, as it is said in Hab. ii. 3:—I know I must wait,—and though it tarry long, yet I *must* wait for it; for it *will* come, and will not *lie*. I bless the Lord, I think I am, in some weak measure, fixed in this also—*to hope* that my Lord *is coming*, and that the day *shall* be, when Satan shall be trampled

under my feet, Rom. xvi. 20. Not only do I desire to wait for the fulfilling of this promise, fully, *after death*, in glory; but that, in a good measure, according to the riches of his grace, it *shall* be fulfilled to me *here*, even in *this* life; so that, although, as it were, *trodden upon by Satan*, I shall, ere long, (as to these particular evils, by which now he prevails and buffets me so sore,) prevail over him, and *trample on him and them*, by obtaining the victory;—but that my Lord, who is only wise, and knows best *how* and *by what temptations to exercise me*, is pleased thus to prove me for a while.

I was also seeking of the Lord, for myself and my wife, that we might be prepared for death,—and might have our hearts loosed from too much engagement to the rest of our dear children, that are left behind;—and for grace to them, that whether they die or live, they may be the Lord's; and that we may be ready heartily to give them up to him, to be disposed of at his pleasure.

The 22nd of March, 1658, my body being a little indisposed, I was seeking, as I could, a blessing on the means [to be used,] that both soul and body might be better disposed; and if the Lord shall prosper, so that my health and strength be prolonged, then my desire and promise was, in his strength to be more forthcoming for his service. Many such vows are upon me:—Lord! help me to perform them better for the time to come, than I have done in times that are gone by.

The 24th day, in my reading in my family, Matt. v. 21, &c. and chapter vi., I was much convinced, that I had many ways failed, and exceedingly come short of the gospel rules there prescribed, in watch-

ing over our thoughts, words, looks, and the first risings of and motions to sin in the heart.

The 30th of April, being the day of the year on which I was first married, I was labouring, as I could, to have my thoughts exercised in the consideration of the manifold mercies I have enjoyed since, now, for the space of twenty-five years: they are many, both temporal and spiritual; some of them were these following. The Lord gave me, that day, a comfortable yoke-fellow, when I had not so much as grace to seek it of him. Many outward, bodily deliverances,—as from that trouble I had from Haddo, and thereafter with Harthill, and at Pitcaple, and at Dunbar;—many vows and promises—much obligation to thankfulness, is upon me, because of these and the like;—as the appearance of an out-get from the burden of that debt I contracted in Holland, in bringing home our late King, which once I feared would have ruined me and my children;—also some [probability] of an out-get from that troublesome business of Caskoben. [See Appendix, FF.] So that my mind, in these things, is delivered from a great deal of anxiety and fear, which, too sinfully, I had in these and the like matters. I was, thereupon, seeking of the Lord to be kept from covetousness, and satisfying myself with the things of a present world.—But, more especially, the spiritual mercies I have met with! and yet,—after so little improvement of grace and gifts, that there should still be any offer of that kind made unto me,—O! what wonder is it, and how much does the goodness of God therein appear! The Lord help me to be more mindful, and more thankful, and more diligent *to engage my heart unto him.*

May the 4th, being the day of my second marriage, that day and some thereafter, I was desiring, as I could, to remember the continuance and increase of the aforesaid mercies on me and my family, and endeavouring, weakly, as I could, to engage my heart to be thankful. Having now, far contrary to my expectation, for divers years enjoyed the comfortable use of the blessings of a married condition, (which I have many times so earnestly sought after, as being much convinced, that I could bear more hardly the being deprived of these comforts, than of any other earthly thing whatsoever,)—and now, having beyond my expectation had a large time of them, I think it my duty, upon many considerations, not only to be thankful, but to have my heart more composed with the apprehension of the want of things of that kind. Thus, if the Lord should be pleased to exercise me with any such dispensations, as to remove my dear wife or children, any or all of them, I might not be thereby surprised, so as to miscarry either before God or men, or with any the least thought of murmuring or repining; but contentedly submit to his blessed will, who can supply all their rooms to me, exceeding abundantly, above all that I can ask or think, so that all my faithless fears shall be disappointed. It is therefore the desire of my heart, to be so habituating myself to such meditations, and so to have both my heart and my house put in order; that, whatever the Lord's will may be, I may be ready sweetly and contentedly to submit thereto. But, it is the Lord alone, that must help me to do rightly any thing in this, *for without him I can do nothing:* and therefore I desire in his strength, to be about my duty, and to wait on in faith, as I may, putting up

their and my own conditions to the Lord, with relation toboth these cases;—and, in particular, labouring to remember my wife's condition, and to pray and believe on her behalf, that the Lord would not remember her unthankfulness for former mercies, nor mine, but that he would add this of her happy delivery to the rest, that we may yet have more occasion to praise him together.

The 14th of May, 1658, my wife having taken her pains in the evening, the next morning was happily brought to bed of two children, a son and a daughter.

There is, by this new mercy, a further obligation put upon us, to be thankful; the Lord having not only heard our desires, but wonderfully disappointed our faithless fears, prevented and gone beyond our desires, in giving us not only some hope of being yet awhile spared to each other; but giving us, instead of one, two pleasant and well-favoured children, and the mother having been very mercifully dealt with in her pains:—this lays great obligation on us to be more for God in our family, apart and together, *in all holiness of conversation* and good example, in stirring up ourselves and others, especially those of our family and servants, to do him better service than ever. And in particular, both of us, the parents, are by this so sweet a mercy very clearly spoken with, to beware of making our children to be our idols. It is not long since God removed one sweet child from us, and now he has given two; in this, now, he would have us to know how to borrow and lend with him. Lord, help us to learn well this necessary lesson! . . . . . .

[In giving some of the grounds of his objection, against taking any part in presenting his twin-chil-

dren for the ceremony of baptism by water, and in stating the liberty he felt, to permit his wife to present them for that purpose, under certain limitations, Alexander Jaffray has this following remark.]

. . . . . Minding the Apostle's rule, Phil. iii. 16, "Whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the *same* rule, let us mind the *same* thing," and verse preceding, "And if in any thing ye be *otherwise* minded, God shall reveal *even this* unto you,"—I ever thought it, and still think it my duty, so far as I may without sin, to go along with any of the Lord's people:—while [or until] the Lord clear up our darkness, we must bear one with another, or [we shall be likely to] devour each other. And I am confident, it is our duty, not only to bear with one another, wherein we may without sin, but to walk together. Only special care should be had in this case, that, (in the peremptory and peevish disposition of *the most part of the godly in this land*, who can be satisfied with no less, than to have all men conform to *them* and be of *their* judgment,)—I say, especial care should be had, that, by our *conforming* to such, we do not *confirm* them in their *sinful mistakes;* and therefore, upon all occasions that are convenient, would testimony be given against their errors.

CHAPTER IX.

1658: THE DUTY OF MORTIFICATION; AND THAT OF MINDING THE CONDITION OF THE LORD'S PEOPLE, &c.—THOMAS GOODWIN'S TREATISE—OBSERVATION ON A CASE IN THE CRIMINAL COURT—QUALIFICATIONS OF TRUE ZEAL—ALLUSION TO A CONFERENCE BETWEEN ALEXANDER JAFFRAY AND "THE LAIRD OF SWINTOUNE"—OWEN'S TREATISES ON MORTIFICATION AND ON WATCHFULNESS—ALEXANDER JAFFRAY WRITES "SOME REASONS RELATIVE TO PARTAKING THE LORD'S SUPPER"—HE LAMENTS HIS UNTHANKFULNESS, AND REVIEWS THE MERCIES BESTOWED ON HIM AND HIS FAMILY—RECOMMENDS HIS FRIENDS AT ABERDEEN TO THE LORD—JOURNEY TO ABERDEEN—THE TIDINGS OF CROMWELL'S DEATH.

The 29th day of May, 1658, I set some time apart, to seek God in these two things: namely, First, For help to make progress in the business of *mortification*, which does so much concern me. Secondly, For grace from the Lord to be rightly directed, about inquiring and finding out *the duty of the times;* that I may not therein be deserted and given up to delusion, on the one hand, or sit down and be satisfied with my prosperous, outward condition, and not regard the condition of the land, nor the sad condition of the Lord's people therein,—so eminently deserted in many respects; and, [that I may] fear, on the other hand, lest,—inquiring after what may be the Lord's mind, in some things relating to controversies of the time, about church constitution, discipline, and government,—I may be diverted from seeking after better things,—mortification, self-denial, and tender walking with God. . . . . .

[Then follow "some thoughts of the duty and means of mortification, as they were that day on my mind;" these, though very cogent, and rich in Scrip-

tural illustration, are for the most part comprehended in meditations already herein recorded. The writer then proceeds :]

Some further thoughts on the matter above mentioned, were spoken home to my heart, I hope, from the Lord; wherein I was helped, by reading that Treatise written by Thomas Goodwin, *Against Relapsing;* finding my case, as I conceive, very clearly spoken to therein, to the following purpose; 2 Cor. v. 14, "The love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge, that if Christ died for all, then—— they that live should not live unto themselves," &c. . . . . [Some few pages are here omitted to be given, being apparently a recital of Goodwin's Treatise. See Appendix, GG.]

The 7th of July, 1658, I was desiring direction of the Lord, in the two particulars following. First, That I may be directed to find out his mind, in partaking of that ordinance of his supper; it having been moved by some good men, whether, (seeing there is not appearance, in haste, to have any other occasion in this place,) we might lawfully partake with such of this nation, as do most purely administer the same. It is my desire to enjoy that ordinance, having been for divers years deprived of the use of it; and yet I am not clear, as I conceive, upon many weighty considerations to partake of it, as above mentioned. Secondly, My affairs calling me to go to Aberdeen, I was desiring the Lord to order and direct me in that journey.

The 8th day. Upon the consideration of a vile fact of incest, pursued [or prosecuted] before the criminal court, wherein there was great presumption and appearance that the parties were guilty; yet did

they, both of them, (the one having judicially confessed the fact,) escape the sentence;—upon consideration of this, and many such horrid guiltinesses committed in the land, I was desiring to be humbled before the Lord; and, more especially, that such sins should go without more strict inquiry and censure. These Scriptures being considered, may give much matter of humiliation to such as fear the Lord, in such cases, to make them mourn for the sins and abominations of the land. Hosea, iv. 1, 2, "The Lord hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land, because there is no truth nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land. By swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood toucheth blood." Also, Jer. ix. 12, and xii. 11; and again, Isai. lix. 12, to 15. "Our transgressions are *multiplied before thee*, and our sins *testify against us:* for our transgressions *are with us;* and as for our iniquities, *we know them;* in transgressing and lying against the Lord, and departing away from our God, speaking oppression and revolt, conceiving and uttering from the heart words of falsehood. And judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off," &c.

The 11th day. Having, some days before, been upon the consideration of the reasons, why I conceive it not lawful [for me,] to partake in the ordinance of the Lord's supper, as it is here in this nation administered; I was, this day, pertinently spoken to by Mr. James Horne, from that text, James, i. 20; and had given divers good qualifications of zeal in contending for the Truth, which were very closely to my case; such as these.—First, Right zeal in contending for any truth of God, would be accompanied

with much love to those, with whom we contend.—Secondly, It would be carried on with much meekness, without heat or passion; for "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God."—Thirdly, There is much need of the exercise of humility and fear; for *the best* know but in part, 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 12; and frequent experience, doubtless, hath taught every one that is observant, to be wary in asserting so positively what now they think to be truth, in these *doubtable* matters, about which good men are so much divided.—Fourthly, When zeal in these matters, is not accompanied with much exactness in trying ourselves, and does not begin at our own bosom, in finding out the errors either of our judgment or practice, and in abandoning them; then may we justly suspect our zeal to be "not according to knowledge." Rom. x. 2.—Again, Right zeal is equally carried out, in all points wherein God's honour is concerned.—Again, Our calling to appear in such matters, would be well examined; and that we be not thereby made negligent in things more necessary.—Again, Although there be truth in the matter of difference betwixt you and good men, it should be well examined, whether it will carry all the weight of what may follow, upon your appearing in it.—Again, All the consequences of the opinions maintained by your opposer, would not be imputed unto him, except you know that he owns them, but in charity you would think the best; for charity "thinketh no evil." 1 Cor. xiii. 5.—And further, Where you cannot agree, you would tolerate and bear with your weak brother, until God reveal what is wanting to him. Phil. iii. 15, 16.—Lastly, It would be well examined, that there be no siding with any party or other interest, but simply

the glory of God, that makes you appear in such a matter.

Upon second thoughts *of the matter above mentioned,* and of a conference *on the same* which I had with the Lord Swintoune a day before, I resolve to examine more narrowly and diligently the thoughts of my heart concerning it; and, by the grace of God, to have my corruption more mortified, and my heart in a better frame, that I may warrantably proceed in that matter. [See Appendix, HH.]

The 22nd day. Having formerly gotten some good, by reading a little Treatise, *Of Mortification,* written by Dr. Owen, and now finding another Treatise, by the same author, *On the Duty of Watchfulness;* I was seeking, that the Lord may bless the reading of that Treatise to me, that I may be helped in the knowledge and practice of that duty. [See Appendix, II.]—I was also recommending to God the condition of my family,—that my wife and children may find mercy. And more particularly for my eldest son, [Alexander,]—that God would now give him the graces and gifts necessary for one of his years, he being now about sixteen years of age; and that the Lord would bless his studies, that he may be directed in them; especially that he may learn *to know Christ;* and that I may be ordered of the Lord, what calling to direct him to follow.

The 8th of August, 1658, I was earnestly seeking of the Lord, that I might know his mind in relation to *the dispensation I am under.* And I thought I had liberty in prayer, and also direction, to fall rightly upon one thing, among others intimated to me by *my present indisposition* and weakness of body;—namely, too much carefulness and provision-making for

the body, too much looseness and liberty taken in satisfying the flesh, the affections and lusts thereof, has made the Lord, in love to my soul, a little to afflict the body.—I was also seeking direction in my journey north, that I may be guided in my going and abiding there, that my carriage may be so ordered, as that I may be comfortable, and not justly grievous, to any that fear the Lord there. As also, having now written *some reasons about partaking the Lord's supper with the good people of this nation*, I desired of the Lord to be directed in revising them; so that I may not be left to my own spirit, in mistaking or affirming rashly or uncharitably any thing, that the Lord will not allow of, or that hereafter I may repent of; but that I may soberly and humbly walk in that matter, as becomes a poor, dark, ignorant creature, who yet dares not but desire to be established, and to walk upon clear grounds in every such matter.

The 13th day, having come from Edinburgh to my own house at the Abbey Hill, I was desiring to bless the Lord, that I find them all there preserved and in health; and that the Lord had returned me there, in any measure and hope of better health. But alas! I find no change upon my heart,—no more love to Christ, no more hatred and indignation against sin, no more sense of the goodness of God, who might justly have consumed me, and have sent me to the pit;—yet has he spared, and pardoned all my sins, and, only out of love, is gently shaking a rod on me. O that the heart of a child, were making suitable returns to such a Father!

The 14th day, I set apart, to seek the Lord, and to praise him for mercies by-gone; wherein, it was my desire, to take a view of all such mercies as may be

remembered; for, otherwise, they are innumerable. I know not where to begin, nor how to proceed in this inquiry,—his mercies to me have been so many.—Lord! help me to praise thee for Christ; since *in Him and for Him,* are all my mercies given and sanctified to me!—I was also desiring to have all my sins before me, that I might lament and mourn for them, my God being now pacified towards me. O how this consideration, of God's being pacified towards me, should heighten the matter of lamentation and woe! that when I was sinning against him, he was minding mercy to me; and while I was still sinning yet more against him, *in the days of my greater knowledge,* yet even *then,* when I was worst and vilest, did he manifest love;—how ought this to overcome my heart *for ever to love Him, who hath thus loved me, and given himself for me!*—I was this day, also, desiring to bless the Lord for the mercies bestowed on my family—(how oft hath he heard me for them, for the mother, the children, and the servants!)—as well for the hope I have, that he will still hear me on their behalf, and be a God to me and my seed for ever. He takes the care of them off me, [while] here; and when I shall be gone, I have none else to leave them to, like him!

I was also desiring to remember my friends and acquaintance at Aberdeen, and to recommend them to the Lord,—and, even in a particular manner, *my friends in the Lord;*—that his grace may be multiplied unto them, and that the gospel may prosper *there,* and that *gospel ordinances* may be *in a right and pure way of administration* set up *there;*—that the Lord would direct *such* who are *waiting for this,* and are deprived of some ordinances, to walk hum-

bly, [even looking] *for that day of his mercy,* when he will bring forth his promise,—*until the offerings of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the days of old and in former years.* Mal. iii. 4. And further, that the Lord would help *such others who fear him there,* that they oppose no more *what he is calling for in this matter;* and that they may find mercy and favour, so as to be humbled for their opposition in these matters, and to give some expression of it, before they part from this world. Also, that the Lord would rebuke *a spirit of pride and contention,* which *rages there;* that thus, all such as fear him, may "walk in love," as becomes the children of one Father.

The 15th day, being a sabbath day, I had much matter to regret, for a lifeless, formal way of spending it. I was labouring to remember, as I could, the condition of the Lord's people in general, and, in particular, *that handful who fear him at Aberdeen;* they being now, by the death of that worthy man Mr. James Duram, disappointed of help for carrying on the work of God there;—that he would be pleased *to point out some other way,* whereby the work of the gospel and the ordinances, in purity may be administered there. And I was desiring, that the Lord would let me see something of this kind, before my return from that place, if I go thither at this time; and that he would help me to be instrumental in so good a work. And yet, [I longed that,] before appearing any way instrumental therein, [I might] be very earnest in seeking God, [as to] when, how, and for whom I shall act any thing in that matter;—for there may be more in it, than hitherto I have considered of

The 19th day, I was earnestly seeking of the Lord, his direction in my journey north, (and the more so, my health not being wholly recovered, and my physician and other friends being against my journey,)—that he would abide with my family, and be a God and a Father to them, and go with me where I am going; promising, by his grace, to observe and be thankful for his presence.

The 20th day, I took my journey, and came that night safely to Brunt Island [Burntisland,] and from thence to Kirkaldie, [proceeding] the next day to Dundee. The 26th day, I came to Aberdeen, in better health than I expected, and found my friends there well. The Lord help me to be thankful, and to walk humbly with my God, and to remember my promise, of observing his kindness and providence to me in this journey!

The 27th day, I was informed of the sinful and scandalous fall of Jane Ramsey, who was some time a professor, and one that *walked with us in fellowship in this place;* her carriage was light and unchristian before, but now her fall [was worse.] O what matter of grief and heaviness of heart ought it to be to professors here, that God should be so offended! and what matter of fear does it administer for those that stand, to take heed lest they fall! for the devil is *very busy*, and we *weak*.

The 28th day, I visited that gracious woman, Elsinet Smith.

The 11th of September, I was desiring the Lord to order my thoughts of returning; having now, by his good hand with me, come to some point in my affairs, so that I may think upon the time and manner of returning.——I was also desiring to be helped,

to remember the condition of that precious woman, Barbara Forbes, widow of D. Wil. Johnstone; she having imparted something of an outward cross and difficulty she is under. My desire in particular for her was, that the Lord would make use of this dispensation, so that she may learn *to behave herself as a weaned child*, Psal. cxxxi. 2; for I hope the Lord is about something of that kind towards her.

I was also remembering *this sore season*, [in allusion, it is supposed, to the circumstances explained in the next paragraph;] and desiring the Lord *to prevent the sad event thereby threatened.*

Upon the 14th of September, *report of the death of the Protector* being come [to Aberdeen,] and confirmed some days thereafter, I found myself very dull in conceiving rightly, what the Lord by that dispensation was speaking to the land, and to those that fear him in it. There being also, at this time, very sad evidences of the Lord's anger against the land, *by unseasonable weather, so that the fruits of the earth are threatened to be destroyed;* this thought of the abuse of so much peace and plenty, as formerly we have been enjoying, did much continue on my heart—and that we were, in the righteous judgment of God, to be exercised with famine and war, and *a sharper trial to pass over such as fear the Lord, than ever they had yet met with;* especially for their unthankfulness for the peace we have been enjoying, these years by-gone. Therefore was it my desire, to lament before the Lord for my own guiltiness and that of the land, and to be prepared for the trials that are likely to follow.

The 18th day, I was desiring the Lord to direct me, in resolving upon my return to my family; and praising him, as I could, for his gracious and kind

providence, in so ordering me and my family and my affairs hitherto; and further, that I may be directed to part from this place, with the contentment of all my relations, both spiritual and natural; and that I may do nothing unworthy of my profession, or that in any measure may give just occasion of offence.

The 26th day. I had much matter to be thankful, for the Lord's presence with me in my journey, since I came from my own house; not only in restoring me to better health, but also for the success I had in my affairs, beyond my expectation; wishing that the Lord's goodness, in these things, may not be forgotten, and that he would direct me, in the rest of my journey, and in my pilgrimage here, until he bring me unto glory! And O! that I could walk worthy of that hope of glory, and thankful for all the mercies I am meeting with here, both to myself and family,—of whom I had gotten late advertisement, that they were all in good health.

The 30th of September, 1658, I came safely to my own house at Abbey Hill, and found my wife and children all in good health . . . . . .

[Here, at the 189th page, or rather leaf, the first part or book of the manuscript breaks off, the remainder being, doubtless, lost. That which follows, is taken from some tattered fragments of another similar pocket volume, in the same hand-writing, but in a much worse state of preservation.]

CHAPTER X.

1659: ALEXANDER JAFFRAY VISITS GENERAL MONK—THE AFFLICTED CONDITION OF THE THREE NATIONS—HIS OWN "FORMALITY IN PERFORMING ORDINANCES," &c.—HE CONTEMPLATES "SALUTING" GENERAL MONK ON HIS MARCHING FOR ENGLAND—HIS OCCASIONS FOR HUMILIATION—1660: "THE STILL SMALL VOICE TO BE HEEDED," &c.—ON THE MOTIONS OF THE FLESH, AND OF THE SPIRIT—BIRTH OF A SON: HIS VIEWS ON HAVING HIM "BAPTIZED"—[HE IS COMMITTED PRISONER TO THE TOLBOOTH OF EDINBURGH]—ON DYING DAILY TO TEMPORAL DELIGHTS—THE ILLNESS OF SEVERAL OF HIS CHILDREN—HIS STRONG TEMPTATIONS—HE USES ENDEAVOURS FOR LIBERATION FROM PRISON—PETITIONS THE COMMITTEE OF ESTATES—THE LORD CHANCELLOR'S PREJUDICE AGAINST HIM—THE LIGHT OF THE LORD'S COUNTENANCE WITHHELD FROM HIM: HE IS REDUCED TO SILENCE IN PRAYER—ON ENLARGEMENT IN PRAYER—THE DEATH OF HIS DAUGHTER SARAH—HIS CONCERN ON BEHALF OF HIS SON ALEXANDER.

The 26th and 27th days [of "October," 1659,] I had, from sad experience, a proof of the truth of what is expressed in the end of the last page, [*this* page, or rather leaf, of the manuscript, being marked the 40th,]—that *the victory over sin* is not attained, but through *much wrestling and fear;* for want of which, I was sadly insnared, *and my corruption had victory over me.* Upon which, my desires of being, for the time to come, more watchful, were weakly renewed, as I could attain to; and these two Scriptures were looked on, and some way made use of, Isai. xxxviii. 14, "I am oppressed; undertake for me;" and Psal. lxxix. 8, "O remember not against us former iniquities: let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us; for we are brought very low!"

About this time, also, through my unwatchfulness, I was well near run upon another snare. In a visit

given to General Monk, (after his engaging for the Parliament, in the division betwixt them and the army,) though I did no ways approve of his way and acting; yet I had matter to be afraid, that my visit and carriage, at that time, might have seemed to have imported the contrary. And in this, was I the more to blame myself,—that I did not seek God's direction by prayer, before I gave him that visit; which, I hope, will teach me to be more wary for the time to come, in matters of that kind, that my carriage do not contradict my judgment in any thing.

The 29th day, I was desiring to remember the sad and afflicted condition of these three nations, now so rent and divided, as never was their case so low, *God having written vanity upon, and stained the pride of all our glory;* the Parliament being not only broken, but the Prince broken that brake them, and yet more like to break in pieces one another. I read Isai. ii. [beginning] from verse 10:—"Enter into the rock, and hide thee in the dust, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty. The lofty looks of man shall be humbled," &c. also chap. li. 18, 19, 20; and concluded with a few thoughts and desires, put up upon the consideration of these Scriptures, and that of Micah, vii. 9; wishing, that the Lord's people in these lands may be prepared *to bear the indignation of the Lord*, while he comes forth so dreadfully threatening it against them. And, O! that I may be helped rightly to consider, what great duty there is on me, to be very earnest and serious with God in this case; I having so much both private and public guiltiness to mourn for.

The 31st day, I set apart some time, to seek God in the particulars following:

First, My own condition being so very dark and much deserted, by reason of distance from God, before I durst venture to seek God on behalf of others, I was labouring to make sure an interest for myself.

Secondly, My desire was, to present the condition of these three nations [before the Lord;] being much convinced of the justness and equity of what the Lord is threatening against us:—should he inflict it to the uttermost, I chose rather to desire *the removal of the sin*, than of *the threatened judgment for it*, and that the Lord's people may be prepared to bear his indignation, because they have sinned against him. Micah, vii. 9. Only I was desiring to seek, as I might, that the Lord would rather let *his own hand* be immediately on us, than that *his people* should be so far divided, as to "devour one another." Another thing I was helped, as I thought, to seek of the Lord,—that if *the wicked* of these lands, shall be *the rod* by which the Lord will have his people corrected, he would provide so far against their insulting, that they may not blaspheme his holy name or insult over his work, by denying that ever he owned it, or has done any thing for his people in it;—that thus, his glory for what is done may not, because of our guiltiness, be so cancelled; but that, though *we*, for our drawing back, and not carrying on his work with singleness of heart, *may justly be deprived of the honour of seeing more of the glory of it*, He may *not* want his praise *for what is already done;*—and then, that our poor posterity may behold *the rest of it*, and though *our* carcases should justly fall *in this wilderness*, yet *they* may behold the glorious presence of the Lord *in that promised land.* Further, that he would provide against the reproach of religion and holiness, the in-

crease of error, blasphemy, antichristian persecution, and idolatry; which being granted, and the increase of light, and promotion of the gospel made way for,—let come of us what pleaseth him, I was desiring to seek of the Lord, such a humble, submissive frame of spirit, as I could, both for myself and all that fear him, *against whom his hand is at this time so lifted up.* [See Appendix, JJ.]

Thirdly, I was presenting the condition of my family, and more particularly that of my son Andrew, to the Lord.

The 9th of November. In prayer, I was helped to desire of the Lord, that he would search and try my heart to the uttermost, and find out and discover to me the vileness and vanity thereof to the full; for I dare no more listen to *my own searching*, having been thereby deceived so often. I thought I was desirous to be honest, in this my prayer, to have my evil heart, and the vileness and deceitfulness of it, wholly made known to me; and that grace and strength might be given, to hate and abhor what I [do] see.—I was also desiring to remember, the sad deserted condition of the work and people of God, in these lands.

The 21st day. I was putting up in prayer these things.—First, Being sensible of much deadness and formality in my performing of ordinances, I was desiring to be quickened and made more lively; and if, as to the external, sensible way of assistance, I were not helped, that yet, as to the inward frame and fervour of heart, my desires might be enlarged that way; that so, although sense were not pleased, faith might be more exercised, and I fitted to meet such a case as is mentioned in Isaiah, l. 10, *to stay myself on my God*, though I were left *in darkness and had no light.*—

Secondly, That I might move more upon a principle of love in all my duties and performances, both to God, and to men for God's sake; and that I might be helped to discern my love, in the reality and truth of it, from obedience and keeping Christ's commandments; [for, said Christ, "If ye love me, keep my commandments." John xiv. 15.]—Thirdly, That the Lord would remember his people in these lands, and deliver them yet once more from their dark and dangerous condition; so as government on a right and sure foundation might be settled, as one of the greatest mercies this present time calls for. And that he would prevent the dreadful threatening of a bloody sword, to rage more amongst us.

General Monk being shortly to take his march for England, I was desiring counsel of the Lord, whether I should salute him before he go; and to be guided, if I do, that I may not approve any thing which my light serves me not to do, nor yet speak any thing rashly, without a warrant and a clear call thereto.

The 29th day, I was desiring to remember the condition of Wil. Dowine [or Downe] and Mrs. Ward, that the Lord would sanctify their present condition; and [also] that worthy man, the Lord Brodie, that he may be directed in these times, and be made more and more useful for God and his people.

The 2nd December, 1659, I was desiring to be helped, to remember what I was;—how vile and wretched a sinner, in the days of my youth,—how young when I began to miscarry, and what length I went in miscarriage;—what I have been since, and am to this day, vile and miserable! for though sin be restrained, yet how little subdued or mortified; yea, how often does corruption in me appear and break

out,—though *man* sees not all of that kind, yet how much is there, and what matter of humiliation therefore! These considerations aggravate my guiltiness and unthankfulness, and ought to enlarge my heart to the eternal praising of the free grace of God,—that, while *so vile and miserable*, did yet extend and evidence *so much mercy and love*, and while continuing so ungrateful, has not broken off his love towards me; but, on the contrary, has enlarged it more, giving me so many proofs of it, in such great and observable outward mercies,—and not only so, but I trust in that which is of infinitely more worth,—even an interest in himself. *This hope*, I desire, notwithstanding all my misery and low condition by reason of sin, *to hold fast;* and, from the consideration thereof, to have my heart for ever engaged to honour and serve Him, who hath so loved me. For, it is the *appearance* of the grace of God that *brings salvation*, and teacheth to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world. Titus, ii. 11, 12. O that this rich, and so free grace of God, *were made more to appear unto me!* I see but little of it, and very darkly, and therefore is there so little denying of worldly lusts, &c.

[Alexander Jaffray, in this place, speaks of his son William's illness and recovery, and of his sister Anna's intended marriage.]

The 15th of January, 1660, after much striving against sin, and many vows and promises for amending some particular evils, in which I find Satan prevail against me, through the advantage he hath from my natural temper and disposition; the Lord gave me in some measure to discern where the fault lies:—namely, in not enough diligently watching over my

own heart, and listening to and receiving the motions of his Spirit, so frequently given *by convictions* against those evils. By doing this, in a holy, sober, believing [manner,] he is pleased many times insensibly to give strength, rather than in that great and overpowering way, in which it is usually expected. For, though *that* may also be afterwards known, yet ordinarily it is not the *first* way by which he communicates strength against corruption, but by *this small and still voice in the conscience;* which, not being diligently observed and received, many times makes the creature *long*, yea, it may be, *all his life*, the more unsuccessfully to strive against sin. As the power of the enemy, at first, was received by Eve's hearkening to him; so the power of the Spirit is received, in hearkening to and receiving the reproofs thereof. *That which checks the evil*, that which stands against thy mind, smiting it in its course of vanity and pleasure, *in that is the power;* for it comes from the Spirit of power to make way for Him; it lies *there*, in that little thing of conviction, which is the first of the Spirit's work. John, xvi. 8. The power thou wouldst have for thy help to hate sin, lies hid *there*, in that little grain of seed, which, being received and cherished, though it may lie for a time, as grain or seed does, undiscerned, will grow up to thy great comfort to a mighty tree. The light, life, wisdom, and power thou seekest after, lies hid in the Spirit's being present with thee: any honest heart that is seeking him will easily acknowledge this; but,—*here* is the point, wherein many an honest heart may be for a long time mistaken—they, like Elijah, 1 Kings, xix. 11, look for the Lord in some glorious, powerful way, and do not observe, but slight

this little, despised thing, *the small voice of conscience*, wherein he is. Listen to and receive this voice of God *behind thee*, speaking in thy conscience, Isai. xxx. 21, and the Lord will come in, and abide, and sup with thee, Rev. iii. 20. Every check and challenge thou hast against the evil, or to the good thou art in pursuit of, is, and must be taken and received, *as his knock at thy door;* unto which, as thou openest, and receivest him, so he comes in and abides with thee; or, if otherwise, he will depart. The success thus to be expected, should also be *waited for:* for the Lord, for some other blessed end, may be exercising thee with some messengers of Satan, which, for a time, he may continue with thee; yet, ordinarily, grace is then growing apace, especially that grace of humility, without which all else is but vanity:—so found the Apostle in the like case, 2 Cor. xii. 7, 8. Then, often, the Lord is about to make out to the poor, fainting creature, more of the fulness, freeness, and sufficiency of his grace, than ever it could have expected or looked for. Therefore, mistake not the Lord's way, but wait for him;—I say, *My soul, wait thou for the Lord!*

The 9th of February, I had some comfortable use of that Scripture, 2 Cor. x. 4, 5, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal," &c.; hoping that the Lord would help me, to get what is here promised performed in my heart, even my very imaginations and thoughts to be brought into "subjection" to "Christ."

I was acknowledging the Lord's great goodness to me and my family, in bringing us from Aberdeen to this country, and his presence so manifested unto us since; and [desired,] that now he would give direction what to do, as to our further abode here or re-

moval north again; this matter being now, upon many considerations, necessary, to be thought upon, I was, this 28th of February, desiring the Lord's direction to order my thoughts respecting it.

The 22d of March, I found the Lord speaking to my heart, and confirming me in the truth of that which was so frequently made out to me formerly, but not so fully received and entertained as should have been; namely, That strength to resist, and comfort in prevailing over corruptions, will not be given, but proportionally as light, when it is offered, is received and entertained, and closely walked up to. And, for this purpose, a diligent watch should be kept up, as well for *resisting* the first risings and suggestions of the flesh against the Spirit, as for *receiving* the motions and lustings of the Spirit against the flesh, the one to good, the other to evil; "for the flesh lusteth against the Spirit and the Spirit against the flesh, and these are contrary the one to the other." Gal. v. 17. Now, my heart was directed of the Lord to consider, that the desires of the flesh have had more easy access and better entertainment in me, than the lustings of the Spirit; and therefore, it were well to observe, and more diligently to wait for, the appearings of these; for, it is said in Gal. vi. 8, "He that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption, but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting." How true I have found this to be in my experience, the Lord give me rightly to consider! And, as the first risings of evil should be in time, even in the beginning, resisted; so, in doubtful cases, wherein, (it may be, through the mistiness and darkness of our understandings, by reason of our inclination to the thing,) the case is not so

clear whether it be sin or not, rather, on this account, should we *choose* the forbearance and abstinence from doing it.

[The writer usually notices the birth of each child, both before and after the event, in a very pious and becoming strain. Here he mentions the birth of a son, on the 23d of the month called April.]

On the 29th day, my wife *caused baptize* her son; I being, upon the grounds formerly mentioned in my other book, in the pages 135 and 163, [97 and 116 of this volume,] unclear to present him, she employed my good friend, William Dowine, to perform that duty; and Mr. John Sterling, minister of that part of Edinburgh where I dwell, to administer the ordinance. He was named James. My desire of being wary and tender of giving offence, even in those things wherein it might be but *taken* and not *given*, with the consideration of my former reasons, moved me thus also, at this time, to order my carriage in this matter as formerly.

[From this page, being the 54th of the manuscript, to the 87th is wanting; in which interval of time, Alexander Jaffray was committed prisoner to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. The occasion and circumstances of this trying "dispensation," are further on explained by himself.—The next observation preserved on record, is, the great fear he had, lest he should fall, under the grievous and furious assaults of the unwearied enemy of souls, who seemed let loose to buffet and well nigh to overwhelm. In this state of mind, two Scriptures were presented to him, as "sad matter of meditation," Ezek. xxiv. 13 and Jer. ii. 19.—The Diary then proceeds.]

One of the main things I am called to learn, *under*

this present dispensation, [his imprisonment,] is, to be more content with a suffering lot,—that great lesson, of cheerfully taking up my cross to follow Christ; and in order thereto, to learn to *die daily* unto all the things of a present world; especially to the too great and excessive desire I always have hitherto had, of enjoying the sweet contentment of my wife and children; yea, so excessive was I in this, as if I could have had no contentment without it. This, the Lord is very clearly calling me off from, that I may learn that great lesson of *parting with all for Christ* . . . . . so [that,] while God gives me the freedom of enjoying them, I may labour to have it to be *in himself*.—While I was thus endeavouring, to have my heart and affections to run in a right channel to earthly comforts,—having since my imprisonment had frequent advertisement, that my three children, William, Rachel, and Sarah, were sick; and that, by my wife's attendance on them, and her own bodily weakness, she is unable to come to me, (though her being with me was desired, and upon some considerations needful;—yet, when I had least expectation, she is unexpectedly sent to me, having had a very prosperous voyage by sea [from Aberdeen.] This, I was labouring to observe, as an answer to prayer; wherein, the time of granting it was most observable; it being *then*, when my heart was *most near* to a contented submission in the want of the thing desired.

The 10th of November, 1660, my affliction was augmented: while even in the furnace, my dross did sadly appear,—my strong and unmortified corruption prevailed over me, and was very near prevailing more; but I was helped with a little help to restrain, in time of the temptation. But, both then and afterwards, I

was seeking of God to have it more made out to me, that my striving was from a right ground, not from slavish fear of punishment, either temporal or eternal, but from love of Christ constraining. I thought, my heart never sought more fervently to have this frame. To have the heart brought and kept to the sense of love to God, and of love so abundantly flowing from him to thee,—were sweet indeed! Lord, help me to do it!

Divers times during my imprisonment, I was making some attempts for my liberty, but still without success; so, I was thinking, that there is something in it the Lord was about to bring forth, which yet I did not know of; and was seeking of him, as I could, to know and submit to his mind thereabout. But, what I desired my heart might be most affected with, was, that my mind should be so out of order and perplexed with the thoughts of disappointments before mentioned, as that I was rendered many times unfit for prayer, both apart, and together with my fellow-prisoner;—this was, often, to me the greatest part of my affliction. It evidenced, as I conceive, much unmortified corruption and weakness of faith, much unwatchfulness and want of tenderness of heart, in judging hardly of God; as if he would not help me, or were unconcerned in my affliction,—in this my sad affliction of having his face hid from me, and shutting out my prayer. This, I think I may, with some bit of honesty, say, as in his sight, was sometimes more grievous to me, than the want of any outward enjoyment that I was *put by*, or the fear of any bodily danger that I may be under.

The 29th of December, I gave in a petition to the *Committee*, [See Appendix, KK.] desiring liberty to

be prisoner in the city; that so I might, by my physician's advice, prevent further sickness, so much threatened by the manifold distempers my body is under. The truth of this my condition, was witnessed by a testimony under the hands of Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Purvis, given in also with my petition. But this, my so just and reasonable desire, was judged otherwise of by them, and refused, without any reason, so far as I have learned; but proceeding, as I suppose, from the same hand that my first imprisonment [that is, my imprisonment *in the first place*] did, and the refusal of my other petition. The Lord Chancellor [the Earl of Glencairn] being by the Lord made use of, as an instrument of my affliction, without any just cause, as to him, or, for any thing I know, to any man whatsoever. The *LORD*, should *He* count with me,—just and righteous were He, if I were consumed; but, blessed be God! *he* has absolved, though *they* would condemn and censure if they could. I was desiring, as I could, of the Lord to forgive them, especially the Chancellor, whose prejudice or other design, whatever it be, is, as I suppose, the cause of all the present trouble I am under. Though I desire to look to a higher hand than his in it, and confidently to wait for another and better out-get than he or they can hinder me from.—[No doubt, he, in this place, anticipates being delivered from the shackles of mortality; pressed down, as he then was, by bodily and mental conflicts, insomuch, that he was ready to despair even of life.]

The Lord, who knows me well, knows well also what need I have thus to be exercised; the sadest part of which exercise, is, the hiding of his face, and shutting out my prayer,—than which there can be

nothing more grievous to a tender heart:—I was desiring that it might be so to *mine;* and hoping, that, when I know more how to prize his presence and entertain his Spirit, he will help me, so as that I may enjoy more of him; also, to know better how to keep free, as of sinful, so of needless, anxious, perplexing thoughts, by which my heart is not a little marred in the enjoying of God;—the avoiding too of needless cares of a present world, and of what may be dear to me in it,—to have a loose grasp of these, and know how to lay them wholly upon God. *This* is *one*, among *the great lessons*, the Lord is giving me at this time to learn.

So far was the distemper and distraction of my spirit heightened, that, sometimes, in the time of prayer, *while I was speaking, I was forced to be silent, and could not utter one word*, but was forced to desire my fellow-prisoner to proceed in the duty. Some days thereafter, I turned over to some Scriptures, where there is something like this case, mentioned to have been incident to the people of God formerly; as, Psal. lxxvii. 4, "Thou holdest mine eyes waking; I am so troubled that I cannot speak;" and Psal. xxxix. 2, "I was dumb with silence, I held my peace, even from good;" and Psal. xl. 12, "Mine iniquities have taken hold upon me, so that I am not able to look up;—— my heart faileth me." But, I could not so well apply these places to my own case, seeing that it appears, the Prophet's [situation] there differs from *mine.* Though I dare not altogether say, that the sense of sin was not a part of my exercise; yet was it (so far as I could discern) more from the vanity and looseness of my heart, needlessly burdening itself with anxious, perplexing thoughts of my outward condition;—so

little was I rightly acquainted with the way of being about *duty*, and leaving *events* to God, or making a difference between what was *necessary* and what was *superfluous*, [so as to be] about these necessary things, in the way of God, without distraction; as, doubtless, the believer may attain to, when he goes about them upon spiritual considerations and for spiritual ends.

A main consideration in my present case, and frequently obvious to my thoughts, [was this:]—that I was eminently called of God, to better ordering of my whole conversation, in walking with him all the day long,—watching *unto* prayer,—observing every motion and outgoing of the heart, and admitting or rejecting them, according as they were conformable, or not, with the rule:—as also *in* prayer, when [it is] to be gone about, either apart or together with others, *to observe the motions of God's Spirit to enlargement;*—and, though I durst not conclude upon *this, as a rule,*—namely, *not to pray,* but when enlargement and inclination was thereto beforehand given, seeing it many times comes at the time, and not before venturing on the duty;—yet, *so to walk in every particular, in doing and saying, as that nothing may escape, which may be feared to obstruct enlargement in prayer:*—and, on the other hand, so to observe every passage in my whole conversation throughout the day, and every motion of the Spirit, as thereby the mind may be stored with good matter;—and so may enlargement be warrantably waited for. Thus, *to be in the fear of the Lord all the day long*, Prov. xxiii. 17, is the highway to it; for so it is promised, Isai. lx. 5, "Thy heart shall *fear* and be *enlarged.*" Without this, whatever fits or flashes of enlargement

may be at times attained to; yet, no fixedness, for staying the heart in prayer upon God, is attainable. And ordinarily, according to the measure and proportion of the heart's being *stayed on God, between the times of prayer, in close walking with him,* so does it attain this fixedness and enlargement *in time of prayer.*

But here, it is to be observed, that, in my case, not only fixedness and enlargement [seem suspended, or removed from me,] *but even words also, many times, so that I could not speak a word;* and yet I could not tell wherefore, or how, it was thus with me: insomuch, that, upon the 6th of December, I was necessitated to desire of Mr. James Simpson, my fellow-prisoner, *to forbear to press me any more to perform that duty of praying publicly,* as I was before accustomed to do, in our little prison-family. I was *above a month* under this exercise, before I did adventure thus to desire to be forborne, fearing to be mistaken by him, and to give him offence. But, having informed him a little of my case, and of the weakness and great infirmity of my body; and having a little reasoned with him, about labouring to have our hearts more in a *fittedness* and disposition for prayer, *before venturing so rashly on it as ordinarily we do;*—some discourse of this kind having past, at last, he agreed for some time to forbear me. [See Appendix, LL.]

Upon the 13th of December, my heart was some way enlarged in private prayer, and therewith was I *desiring to be comforted;* but with this caution, that I should beware of placing *too much* of my satisfaction and comfort, upon *enlargement and liberty given in prayer.* For, though this be a rich mercy, for which God is to be praised, and for which the

heart *may* rejoice and be comforted,—[as the Psalmist saith,] "I love the Lord, because he hath heard my voice and my supplications," [and as Elihu,] "I will speak, that I may be refreshed," (for much refreshment may and does come that way;)—yet the *person* and the *prayer* may both be very acceptable, *when this is wanting*. Faith is commonly *most alive*, when *sense* is *least satisfied;* humility, and the like rooting and bedewing graces, do then ordinarily most abound. And if *thus* the heart does find it, or has hope (though not presently, yet afterwards) so to find it, there may be comfort in this case; for, this may be a part of that "peaceable fruit of righteousness," which the sad affliction of apparent desertion shall in due time bring forth. Heb. xii. 11. And therefore, [such an one] should be *most* stirred up and lively, when sense is *least* satisfied, [as is intimated in] Isai. l. 10, "Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness, and hath no light? let him trust in the name of Lord and stay upon his God."

The 15th day, I was advertised, that my daughter Sarah departed this life upon the 9th day, she having been long sick. I was desiring of the Lord, as I could, to have this addition of exercise sanctified to me, and to my wife and the rest of my family.

I had been, for some time before that day, seeking of the Lord for mercy to my son Alexander, that he may be helped to come out of a snare that I fear he is in; and that I may be helped, to fall upon the right way of dealing with him in that matter; that his innocency or guiltiness may be made appear, and he not suffered, if guilty, to deny or cover his sin, nor I too sharply to challenge him, if innocent. My

heart was some way exercised towards him with fear and love, upon reading that Scripture, Prov. xxviii. 13, "He that covereth his sins shall not prosper; but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy;" and so, found it my duty, with all diligence to prosecute that matter, until it be in God's time brought to light.

CHAPTER XI.

1661: ALEXANDER JAFFRAY LAMENTS HIS DULL CONDITION—THE VOICE OF GOD IN THE CONSCIENCE—THE VIEWS OF ALEXANDER JAFFRAY AT THIS PERIOD RESPECTING THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS—THE EARL OF MIDDLETON MOVES IN PARLIAMENT FOR HIS ENLARGEMENT FROM THE TOLBOOTH OF EDINBURGH—ON MINDING THE DAWNINGS OF THE LIGHT OF CHRIST—THE OCCASION OF HIS IMPRISONMENT—HE IS CITED TO APPEAR BEFORE PARLIAMENT—THE SAD CASE OF PROFESSORS; WITH HIS OWN SITUATION, AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF BARUCH, IN JEREMIAH, xlv. 2, &c.

The most part of a month following, my time was spent without any advantage or progress made in the way of holiness, or prevailing over corruption; but sin rather prevailing over me, my deadness and dulness of heart continuing:—this makes me sometimes fear much, what may be the event of such a sad case; [especially] at a time, when vigour and liveliness was never more called for, nor more looked for. O that I knew, in this desertion as to sense, how I am called to live by faith; and to believe, that He who will not take his holy Spirit from me, will also in due time *restore unto me the joy of his salvation!* When I have sufficiently and experimentally found, how evil and bitter a thing sin is, how soon shall I, through grace, have attained to the right exercise of this my sad condition!—then may I confidently wait for the out-get as not far off. The vision is for the appointed time, Hab. ii. 3,—he that believes makes no haste, Isai. xxviii. 16; yet in chap. li. ver. 14, it is said, "The captive exile *hasteneth* that he may be loosed, and that he should not die in the pit, nor that his bread should fail;"—yea, and in that case, he'll even bid God *make haste to help him,*

Psal. xxii. 19, [and again, his cry will be in unison with David's,] "Hear me *speedily*," "for I am in trouble." But alas! *my* heart is not so affected with *my trouble* as my case requires; dulness and deadness of heart, in this dreadful, searching time, is my judgment and plague. *This* my wound stinks, because of my foolishness, Psal. xxxviii. 5;—my laziness, my unwatchfulness, alas! has much made it so.

My thoughts have sometimes run, for remedy against this evil of unwatchfulness, upon a resolution diligently to watch over thoughts, words, and actions, which, doubtless, is a duty, and, when conscientiously done, will be blessed of God; but my striving hath been for the most part in vain, minding the thing in my own strength, more than in the strength and way of God.

After many days striving, and waiting for strength rightly to watch against vain thoughts, &c., and for strength to come in against them, but without finding it, I began to consider of that place, Deut. xxx. 11, 12, &c., repeated Rom. x. 6, 7, 8. The voice of God in the conscience, there said to be *near*, in the heart and in the mouth, must be more attended to, diligently watched over, and obeyed in what it commends and reproves. Strength against sin must be waited for; it comes in, not *all at once*, but gradually, as the voice of God is there minded and adverted to, in love and tenderness of obedience to his commands. The kingdom of heaven, thus sown in the heart, is at first but as a grain of mustard seed; but, being attended upon diligently, it grows to a tall tree. Matt. xiii. 31. It is, by rightly observing Christ speaking in the conscience, that he comes in with strength, to give victory over sin. Observe, what Moses, in verses 10 and 20, calls "*the voice of the Lord*,"

Paul, in verses 6 and 7, calls *Christ*, which is *in the mouth and in the heart;* then consider this well, that when the voice in thy heart and conscience, which is Christ, is slighted and not hearkened unto, strength against the sin that masters thee, is slighted and refused. And, as he is observed, thus speaking in the conscience, he *makes out himself* more and more for thy comfort, making thee victorious, conquering and to conquer.

Whatever may be of mistake in the way and opinion of the people called Quakers *about the Light within them*, as to the universality and operation of it; after some inquiry thereabout, my resolution is, *to wave the debatable part thereof*, and, as I may, in the strength of the Lord, to improve and make use of what truth I find *in the thing itself*—of more duty to be on me, to mind seriously, and more closely to walk up to, *the Light in the conscience.* For, I do verily find and believe, *there is light appearing from, and holden forth at this time, by these despised people, in that and some other things*, which, if prejudice and passion did not hinder, might be received with much advantage.

Upon the 16th of January, 1661, the Earl of Middleton, Commissioner for the King's Majesty to the Parliament, was pleased to move in Parliament, that, because of my valitudinary condition, I might be somewhat enlarged from my imprisonment in the Tolbooth, to have the liberty of the city and suburbs; which accordingly was done, upon the 17th day; I having given bond, under [penalty] of £20,000, not to remove out of those bounds without leave of the Commissioner and Parliament, and to appear when I should be cited. [See Appendix, MM.]—My desire

to the Lord was, that I might be helped to the right understanding of his mind in my restraint, and his way with me under it, and as to my enlargement thus far. And, O! that my *heart* may be *enlarged* to wait on him, for a right understanding to be granted to me in this thing; that I may not miss the end of the Lord, by either despising his chastisement, or fainting when he rebukes. Heb. xii. 5.

The 14th day of February, 1661, I was led to consider more seriously, how the Lord is pleased to help, and give in strength to the subduing of sin; which has been long my inquiry; but, little has been learned, as to the practical use of it. These two particulars appeared necessary to be taken more heed to.—First, To mind the light, as it *begins* to appear and dawn in the conscience; for, accordingly as this is done, the day dawns, and the day-star (that is, Christ himself) arises; first, as the bright and morning Star, Rev. xxii. 16, whereby, "the Day-spring from on high" visits such as "sit in darkness," Luke, i. 78, 79; and at last, "the Sun of righteousness" itself arises, Mal. iv. 2, and abides with them. Secondly, The next thing to that of minding the light, is, to wait and stand still from self-willing and acting, which darken the heart; for "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." The way, then, to receive the light, and strength by and from it, is, to stand still, in a sober frame of spirit; on the one hand, not to reach after it in a self-will, which obscures it; nor, on the other, to flee back from it, because it makes manifest the evil deeds in their first motions; but, to lie down under and submit to the smitings and judgments of the power of the light, which first wounds, and then

cures. And thus it is, that the Lord communicates strength; *not all at once*, but *by degrees*, as the light is attended to and patiently waited for; *not by willing and running*, but *by sitting still*, as is said by the Prophet, Isai. xxx. 7, "Their strength is to sit still," and verse 15, "In returning and rest shall ye be saved, in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength."

By reaching after light and strength in a self-will,—I mean, *too much activity in a formal way of performing duties*, such as *prayer and fasting at set times*, and the like; as if, by the very frequent and fervent performing of such acts, strength were to be obtained. And thus, many times, the heart is *rather more darkened* and [*rendered*] *dead* to a lively and diligent *attendance upon the voice of God in the conscience*, than stirred up thereto; the attendance unto which, for direction and strength to be about every action, word, and thought, with a suitable walking accordingly, *is the chief and main means*, by which the Lord communicates further light, life, and strength for subduing sin.

Again, by fleeing back from the light, when it makes manifest the evil deeds, on the other hand,—I mean, *the want of that sober and serious observation of the Lord's reproofs for sin*, at its *first* rising in the heart, which would put a stop to its *further* proceeding. In *quieting thy spirit*, sitting down, as it were, satisfied, in *confidence* of thy help and strength coming, *even in this unlikely way*, (for so it is, not only in the eyes of natural reason, but, many times, even of enlightened reason, until experience makes out the contrary,)—in this quietness and confidence, shall be thy strength.

And, as in the business of having sin weakened,

and strength against it attained, so, in going about to compass any other business of worldly concernment, *this* must be thy way of doing it:—sit down, and leave off following thy business, so as to be taken up with perplexing anxiety or care about it, or the issue of it;—absolutely give up thyself to an entire dependence upon Him, who orders every thing for thy good; and doubtless, he will make *that* turn out best for thee, which thou hast thought otherwise,—and in a way which thou wast not looking for. Labour, then, to observe and follow his way of leading thee; or, *a snare* and *perplexity* may more attend thee, than thou art aware of,—even when thou hast things to thy heart's desire.

Some communication of light and clearness, in these respects, has been the work of God to me, during this sad time of my imprisonment; wherein, for the most part, I was never more under desertion, and darkness as to *all that he was doing*, both in judgment and mercy, towards his people in general, and myself and family in particular. Yet, if it shall please Him, who hath given me some way to *know* these things, of his goodness, [to enable me] *savingly and experimentally, in all my conversation, to practise them accordingly*,—I hope to bless him for thus having been with me in prison, though I knew him not [in these dispensations;] for, [assuredly,] he is faithful unto those that wait for him.

The 24th day. I shall here shortly mention the occasion of my being made a prisoner. It was my unclearness about a bond, presented to me to be subscribed for the peace: to subscribe this, I was very loath, for divers reasons afore mentioned, [perhaps, in that part of the Diary which is lost.] Yet, after

some time, having considered the same, I *did* offer to subscribe it; though I would willingly have declined the same; mainly, because of that clause in it, reflecting upon the carriage of many good Christians in the west, whose carriage, though I could not approve, yet I would not willingly have concurred in the severity, that was likely to be used in the censuring of them. And accordingly, the Lord was pleased to order my business, so as that I was no more put to it to subscribe the same.

Having, with too much earnestness, sought after my liberty from prison, it was still withheld from me; and *all the means I could make use of, both in this place and at London*, frustrate. At this, both myself, and some of my relations, did evidence too much impatience and want of submission. And yet, afterwards, the Lord brought about a great part of the thing I was seeking, in another and better way than I did imagine.

For the Lord Chancellor had been much stirred up to oppose me in every thing I sought after, though without a cause, so far as I yet knew; alleging, that he had written to the King's Majesty particularly about me, and until he should know his mind, he would not consent to my liberty, nor to allow me any favour; and so was I, by his means, continued prisoner in the Tolbooth four months, namely, from the 20th day of September to the 17th of January thereafter. And when all my endeavours had failed me, and my difficulties were increased by the coming of the King's Commissioner, who, as I supposed, had been by the Chancellor so fully informed to my prejudice; yet, by him, the Lord was pleased to order the means of my relief from the Tolbooth to the liberty of the city, and so to restrain the Chancellor's preju-

dice against me, that when my liberty was moved for in Parliament, he did not oppose it, though, formerly, he would not suffer it to be mentioned in the Committee of Estates. In the consideration of which, I thought there was given to me a very lively check, warning me, not to be so earnest and anxiously perplexed, about the means of my out-get from my present trouble; but *to wait on God*, who will order what remains of it better than I could wish.

The 3rd of March, 1661, I was seeking of the Lord, for more stayedness of heart to rely on him, not only for the bodily out-get from my bodily restraint, but for the sanctified use of my present case, and that he would save me from *making haste*,—which *the believer* does not. Isai. xxviii. 16. For, having been by a [writ,] upon the 9th of February, cited to appear before the Parliament on the 5th of March, *for divers matters of treason*, as the summons bears; I was, this day, seeking to know the Lord's mind about my appearing, and challenging myself, for not seeking counsel of the Lord, before I made use of means to decline the said citation; with a desire, to submit to him as to the success of these means, and [also as to the success of the] promises made to me *by some great men*, to prevent my appearing that day;—hoping, if the Lord approve me in declining to appear, he will order it for my good, and, if otherwise, that he will direct and furnish me how to carry myself, and what to say, if I be called there; according to the promise, Matt. x. 18, &c. also see Mark and Luke. Thus, may I be helped to be less anxious and perplexed, in forethinking what to say then and there, if I be called; but wholly in that, to give up myself to God, who has and will order what concerns me here

and hereafter: glory, glory, and praise to his name! for he is faithful and true to all that patiently wait on *him*.

The 5th of March being come, and the Parliament not sitting that day, I thought it my duty to spend it in private,—and, as the Lord would help me, to wait on him, for the having my heart more drawn near him and stayed on him for direction; being some way sensible of the great dulness and deadness of my heart, and of my little profiting under my present exercise:—which makes me desire much to fear and tremble before him, lest I may be, through my negligence, in not stirring up myself rightly to improve this present opportunity, deprived of the advantage of *laying in provision* from the Lord, against the apparently *increasing storm of this dreadful day, that seems coming on professors.*

How sad has it, sometimes, been to my heart, that so little of the true sense of this is to be found, either with myself, or *any else I meet with or can hear tell of!* The case of *the generality of professors of this time*, (against whom, as I conceive, *the Lord's controversy mainly is,)* in many things, seems like unto that of God's people of old, as it is expressed in Isai. xlii. 24, 25, where he says, "Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robbers? did not the Lord, he against whom we have sinned? for they would not walk in his ways, neither were they obedient unto his law. Therefore He hath poured upon him the fury of his anger, and the strength of battle: and it hath set him on fire round about, yet he knew not; and it burned him, yet he laid it not to heart." And again, li. 18, &c. "There is none to guide her among all the sons whom she hath brought forth; neither is there any that taketh her by the hand, of all the sons

that she hath brought up. These two things are come unto thee; who shall be sorry for thee? desolation, and destruction, and the famine, and the sword: by whom shall I comfort thee? Thy sons have fainted," &c. Also Jer. xii. "I have forsaken mine house, I have left mine heritage;" &c.—"no flesh shall have peace."

I think, sometimes, the words of Baruch, Jer. xlv, from verse 2 to the end, hold forth something like the case of the people of God in this time,—at least, what I find to be the unhappy frame of my own heart, which I fear may also be too much the case of others. Baruch, in a time much like this, when the Lord was so pulling up and casting down, (as he is also now doing,) was more taken up with his private and personal case, than with the public condition of the work and people of God; and therefore was he so sharply taken up and reproved of the Lord, for his thus preferring his private case to the public, and *then*,—in such a time of desolation and affliction, seeking for great things to himself.

Consider, how he is challenged for what he had said. "Thou didst say, Woe is me now! for the Lord hath added grief to my sorrow; I fainted in my sighing, and I find no rest." There are three or four things, for which he is here challenged.

First, His impatient bearing the common calamity of the time. To be impatient under affliction, at *any* time, is wrong; but, most especially, when the Lord's hand is out against his people, and he is overturning all, as it were; then, for any of the godly to be so far from being content to suffer with them, as to be more sensible of their particular case than that of the public; this is wrong, and that which the Lord will reprove.

Secondly, Some of the *great things* he seeks here, may be these. Freedom from having his sorrow augmented by the addition of grief. Freedom from fainting under his sad condition. And yet, many times, the Lord *will* have the grief of his children so to be increased, as that the deliverance shall not come, until they be brought very near,—yea, sometimes, even unto fainting. Psal. xxvii. 13, Psal. lxi. 2. And therefore, they are not, with Baruch here, too peremptorily to seek to decline this condition; but only to seek grace, so to be borne out, as not to dishonour God by fainting; especially, when the cause [and need] of it is so eminently held forth, as in *his* time it was, and *now* is in *ours*,—when all God's precious interests, yea, piety and religion itself, seems to be at stake.

Thirdly,—"I find no rest," says he. He would have been in a quiet, peaceable condition, while God was intending no such thing to his people: *this*, God reproves him for, and counts it *a great thing*, sought for himself, which he would not give him, because it is not good for him. Neither must *we* seek it, or count greatly of it, in such a time. When the Lord intends a general stroke upon a people, as here,—"I will bring evil upon all flesh,"—then, the godly may not promise themselves exemption; they may, yea, they must suffer with the rest,—at least in sympathizing, with the godly especially.

But yet, observe,—"Thy life will I give to thee for a prey," &c.; that is, not only the preservation of his natural life, but a lively frame of spirit,—which is the very *life* of a believer's soul,—is here promised, in this time of calamity, in all places where he should go. Without this, especially in time of trouble, they

dwindle and die, and their very life becomes a burden to them. This day, the Lord was pleased, I hope in mercy to my soul, to open the said Scripture to me; and, in some measure, a desire [prevailed], to sit down contentedly under the want of all the aforesaid "great things," if I may but attain to have a daily increase of *this good thing*, my "life for a prey;"—a more distinct knowledge and observation of, and conformity to the presence and power of Christ, who is the true Life within me.

CHAPTER XII.

1661: ALEXANDER JAFFRAY VISITS SOME PRISONERS IN THE TOLBOOTH; AS, ROBERT TRAIL, JOHN STIRLING, GILBERT HALL, AND ALEXANDER MONCRIEF—HE HAS AN INTERVIEW WITH JAMES GUTHRIE, ON "*THE CAUSES OF THE LORD'S CONTROVERSY WITH THE LAND*"—HIS DESIRES ON BEHALF OF HIS WIFE—CHRIST'S VOICE IN THE HEART—THE DUTY AND BENEFIT OF BEING "QUIET," AND NOT REPINING, OR BEING DISMAYED AT THE LORD'S WAY OF EXERCISING THE SOUL—HE OBTAINS ACCESS TO ROBERT MACQUARE, THEN A CLOSE PRISONER FOR HIGH TREASON: HIS CONFERENCES WITH HIM AND OTHER PRISONERS—ON CONFORMITY TO THE WORLD—"3rd JULY, 1661:" THE DANGER OF SETTING UP "DUTIES" IN THE PLACE OF CHRIST—ON KEEPING CLOSE TO CHRIST, THE FOUNTAIN OF LIFE, &c.

THE 8th of March, 1661, having been, divers days before this, some way moved and pressed in spirit, to visit some of the prisoners now in the town, I did, at divers times, visit Mr. Robert Traill, and Mr. John Sterling, ministers of Edinburgh, Mr. Gilbert Hall, and Mr. Alexander Moncreife, minister at [Scoonie]; minding, as occasion should offer, to have communicated with them *my thoughts of the dangers and duties of this time*, and to have heard theirs. But, partly through want of opportunity, and by reason of much darkness, that both they and [I lay un]der, nothing worthy the mentioning, to any purpose, was amongst us. [SEE APPENDIX, NN.]

That day, I went to visit Mr. James Guthrie in the Tolbooth; and resolved, to be more free and plain with him, than I thought safe or convenient to be with any other, which at last I [ventured] to do, laying [open] further my thoughts freely to him. And,

lest he might have been jealous of me, as being under a temptation, because of these times, (seeing my present thoughts of *the Lord's controversy with his people*, seems to fall in and suit *with what the men that are now in power, for their own ends, are acting*,) I desired him not so to judge of me, *as favouring them or their ends, in what they do:* for, I am very confident, God is highly displeased herewith, and will overturn them, and their doings and ends both, if they repent not. But, I desired him to mind a paper, he did see me give in to a meeting of ministers and professors here, in Edinburgh, in October, 1651; containing my judgment and thoughts, of what might be the occasion and cause of the Lord's controversy with his people. The which paper he did well remember. And I told him, that my present thoughts were much the same, that then they were. And the Lord had been ever since, and now was more plainly, making it appear to be so; by having, in a great measure, shaken loose and overturned the national way of [church] government, in its method and way, and all the dependencies of it, as they were formerly, and [as they were] later, in these times, framed and carried on, by the will and inventions of men—as the uttermost height and pitch of reformation, to which the Lord was to have his work brought, in these latter days. In like manner, the national Covenant, and League and Covenant,—which were the great idols of our invention, for carrying on of these things,—the Lord had, these divers years by-gone, in a great measure [shaken;] by this, testifying so eminently against them, after solemn *appealations*,—likewise his so dividing and renting them among themselves about them;—thereby, as I suppose, very clearly calling to

lay them by, as means not of his appointment, but of their own invention, and that he would no more bless for carrying on [his work] . . . . . .

[Here, at the 103rd page of the second pocket volume, the manuscript once more breaks off:—the only remaining fragment of the Diary, that was discovered, is as follows.] . . . . . and exercising me with manifold and various dispensations, both of mercy and judgment;—especially *at such a time*, I should be thus assaulted, and brought sometimes well near to the gates of hell; so that hell itself should not be more terrible and loathsome to me, than some fits of distemper and sad exercise, that it pleased Him to suffer me frequently to be under: [my desire was,] that the Lord would show me, why it is thus, and what he would have me to do in this case. To this purpose, was the desire of my soul laid out to him; with expectation and some hope, that he will make way for my escape from this sad, distressed, and miserable condition, or else enable me to bear it, as becomes a soldier of Jesus Christ, with courage and confidence; knowing that *his grace is sufficient for me*, and that *his strength is made perfect in weakness.*

The 17th day of June, 1661, I received a line from my wife; wherein I perceived, and was desiring much to pity, her confused and dark condition, being nothing comforted and less edified by her letter. As I could, I was desiring of the Lord on her behalf, that she may be helped to improve *the dispensation*, and saved from the sad stroke of being deprived of the right use of it, which would look more sad and judgment-like than any thing she or I have ever yet met with.

The 18th day. Having been, for many days, sadly

exercised, by reason of the abounding corruption of a carnal, light, and unstayed mind; this morning, I found the Lord speaking to me, and telling me, that *without him*, I could do nothing for the helping of myself out of this sad, deserted frame of spirit, that now I am in, and have most frequently been under from my youth up unto this day; which is shortly this:—Satan, and his suggestions and allurements to sin, familiarly and frequently admitted into the heart, at his pleasure; so that I could but very little, if at all, in any measure, essay to resist him with success;—and, on the other hand, Christ, and all He brings with him, kept at the door, without entry or entertainment, though sometimes longed for and in some sort inquired after. Now, I thought, the Lord's voice was to me this morning, that, as *He alone could help me*, so his help was *only* to be found by me, as his voice (being attended to) should be found speaking in the conscience; and that *all noises and voices else*, speaking there, behoved to be *silenced*, or *his* could not be heard.

For clearing up this truth, these particulars were thus made out to me; that *there*, and only *there*, he is to be found effectually speaking to and determining every case, and the cure of it.

He is to be seen in his works of creation, in his works of providence, and by the judgments that he executes, and in the Scriptures there is much of him to be seen and learned by a diligent perusal of them; but *no life* is to be found [merely] by what may be learned from *any* or *all* of *these*. "Search the Scriptures;"—that is a duty, "for they testify of me," says Christ; "but *ye MUST come to ME" to get life*,—your life is *there*, even "hid with Christ in God." See John,

v. 39, 40, and Col. iii. 3. My life, then, being *only* to be found in Christ, and no where else, in prayer, preaching, nor Scriptures;—where is he to be found? Though Christ may be said to be, and truly is, *every where*, and every where to be found; yet not to the particular end for which he is sought, namely, for mortifying and subduing sin,—but *as enthroned in the heart*. The Apostle, speaking to this same case, of a soul that is seeking, and wots not where to find Christ, says, *He is nearer than ye believe,—in your heart and in your mouth;* so, he is *effectual only there*, to do the business thou desirest. Find him ever so much *elsewhere*,—if ye find him not, nor observe him well *there*, you will lose your labour; your case will grow worse,—your wound will stink and become more corrupt,—you will profit nothing by all your pains, nor by all the dispensations you are under, either of mercy or correction.

But who, among professors, will not acknowledge *all this*, willingly? and yet do find themselves still at a loss, as to *their idol*, in being kept from it; or some corruption, that always has been predominant, or, it may be, is let loose only for a time against them, does yet master and vex them sore. I find this to have been, and still to be my case; being ready, and very willing, to acknowledge the necessity of giving Christ the heart, to have his throne there, and to expect help for the subduing of corruption only from him; and yet corruption *remained*, yea, seemed to *increase* to more strength and vigour than *before*. As the Lord may have many glorious ends, why he thus exercises his children,—this is not my business now to speak to. Although, among other things, I conceive, a special end of my present exercise is, to draw and

lead me on, not only to acknowledge that Christ ought to have the heart, and to be willing to give it to him; yea, to pray him to come and take it, and set up his throne in it, and this to do with uprightness and much sincerity;—*this length I came long since;* but, I see a necessity of making progress and advancing; or to remain, without comfortable success, far short of hope of victory.

It is one thing, to be *willing* to receive Christ, and to desire heartily that he *would come;* and another thing, to know that *he is there already.* I know it is the judgment of many, that Christ is in every one, &c.; but, sure I am, that every *believer* has Christ *in him*, or else he is *none of His*, Rom. viii. 9; he also *knows* that he has Him, or he is not in an approved condition, 2 Cor. xiii. 5. How sad, then, is it, *that He should be there*, and so little taken notice of, as not to be known *how* he comes, or *what* he says or does in the heart! "Surely the Lord is in this place; and I knew it not," said Jacob; so, surely, may I say, Christ has been long in my heart sorely slighted and not observed. O, for a heart to mourn for this! and to wonder at his patience and unchangeable love, that yet is to be found when he is sought; and to count my affliction, inward and outward, as a fatherly correction, (how sharp soever,) for my neglect, and slighting so great salvation. Lord! help me, that I do so no more.

Christ is in the heart, as he was in the world, but little known or observed; yea, sometimes mocked and reproached. Why? Because he came not *then*, nor comes *now* "with observation." And, as he came to Elijah, and was found to be where he was least to be looked for, not in the stormy wind, the earthquake, nor the fire, but in the small, still voice; so is Christ to be

found in the heart, as a despised, little, small thing,—a grain of seed,—as a word that ye hear at a distance, behind you. And, who takes notice of the like of that? especially, when so great things are to be done, as Satan to be cast out, and a hard heart made soft, *wonders* are then more ordinarily looked for. But, O the wisdom of God! "*Hear*," says he, "and your soul shall live"—"*Look unto me*, and be saved," Isai. lv. 3, and xlv. 22. Christ observed and listened unto,—*that* is *all* ye have to do; any thing more, is so far from *furthering*, that it *hinders* your progress. It is not of him that willeth or runneth, Rom. ix. 16; your "strength is *to sit still*," Isai. xxx. 7. See this a little further cleared at pages 148 and 150.

There is *something* in the heart and conscience that reproves evil: there is no need of proof for *this*, every one's experience tells him the truth of it; if you will hear *this check and reproof it gives to evil*, you will find also that it will *stir up to good*, and encourage you to go on in the one way, and to flee from the other. Now, believe and know for certain, THIS IS CHRIST; and *this is the voice*, that, he says, *his sheep hear and know*, John, x. 3, 4; even *this*, that has been so long slighted and neglected in the conscience,—*this so much baffled and slighted voice, is that way* [*by which*] *Christ speaks:* HEAR HIM THUS, OR NOT AT ALL. Christ's voice was *thus*, and *no other way*, heard, while he was here upon earth in the body, wherever it was effectual for doing good. The world could not understand his speech, and he gives the reason of it in the next words, "Even because *ye cannot hear my word*," says Christ, John, viii. 43. He was speaking *audibly* to their *ears*, and yet he says, *they could not hear his word.*

The truth of this may be somewhat more made out, by considering what the Apostle, in Gal. v. 17, saith, "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh;"—the one is no less than the very devil, stirring up and acting towards the bringing forth the lusts of the flesh, till they be finished in death, James, i. 13, &c.;—and the other, none else but Jesus Christ in the heart, stirring up, and acting holiness and every good work. How sensible are we of the one, that they tend to death; and yet how [at] home and familiar are they with our hearts,—how easily received, and admitted to abide there! And, on the contrary, how are the lustings of the Spirit neglected! If it were believed firmly, that *Christ*, or *the devil*, were *admitted* or *rejected*, as these their messengers are; and that the strength and growth of corruption, or the withering and decay of it, *depend* upon the distinct observation and entertainment which these get, in all their several motions and suggestions in the heart; there would be other sort of advantage over corruption, and growth in grace, than is now gained. But such a tumult and noise is kept up in the heart, by the ready access that Satan has in every of his suggestions; that, what with tumultuous and incessant desires of some one idol lust or other, or some one or other diversion from what is good, the mind is kept on, in a hurry of confusion;—so, there is no room for Christ to enter. Now, to have this tumult *silenced*, it is *Himself* must do it. "Be silent, O all flesh, before the Lord." Zech. ii. 13. So, in Matt. ix. 25, when a miracle was to be performed, the tumult must be removed; and when the people were put forth, he went in, and the maid arose. All flesh, as well the *rational* or *reasoning part*, as that which is

more gross, visibly and sensibly so, must be *struck down*. For Christ, at his entry in thy heart, may receive no less opposition from *the one* than from *the other;* for the *wisdom* of the natural man, as well as his more fleshly lustings, is enmity against God;—it cannot be reconciled with him, but must give place, or he will not come in.

And, having received him, keep him well; keep near to him, yea, *in him;* abide in him, and let his words abide in you. His words are not [merely] as they are spoken in the Scriptures, or any other outward way only, to the ear or eye of the body; but it is his words *in you*, it is the hearing of them *thus*, as they are spoken in you, that will be profitable for you and bring salvation. The branch, by being in the Vine, has sap flowing constantly to it from the root;—so will ye feel *that*, if ye abide in Him; even as the woman, who felt virtue coming from Jesus. The spirit has its senses, as well as the body; it feels, it handles, it tastes, it touches, 1 John, i. 1. But these spiritual senses are, for the most part, benumbed and dead for want of exercise. When the eye of the mind is darkened, O how great is that darkness! Matt. vi. 22, 23:—be, therefore, very careful to keep open *this eye*, the light that is in thee, as Christ there calls *that*, the eye of the mind; which being kept open, all the body is full of light.

The 21st day. I find the Lord saying to my heart, *that it should be quiet*, and not repine or fret at his way of exercising me, however bitter it be;—if it be more and more so, I am not allowed to despond or be discouraged, seeing, God gets more glory by sustaining me to strive against such a case, than he could do by my getting victory. It will also be, in the end,

more for my advantage; and while there, he will be with me,—even in the fire and in the water—*he is with me;* why then should I be dismayed? The enemy, that is buffeting me, will be *better* buffeted, beleaguered, yea, trampled upon shortly. It is, then, a duty which I desire to essay,—to take courage, and be still; and—*as a dear friend said yesterday to me,* The best way to discourage and render a mad, furious enemy hopeless in his attempts, is to slight and neglect him as absurd and vile,—yea, to abhor being a servant of sin.

That day, finding some easier access to meet with Mr. Robert Macquare,—(he having been kept close prisoner, since his libel was found proved, and he guilty of treason)—but, this day, having found access to him, I was speaking something of my thoughts to him, in relation to these times, and the guiltiness that the Lord may be pursuing his people for, in this day. And having, in some sort, made way for it, I told him, at last, that I had a paper, which did more fully contain my thoughts, both as to the matter of guilt and of duty. This paper, I left with him to be read; and he promised, that neither the paper, nor what was in it, should be communicated to any. He only told me, that he could not promise so speedily to peruse it, seeing *he was preparing some papers for the scaffold.* Whereupon, I was fearing, it may meet with the like success with him, as with Mr. James Guthrie, to whom another copy of it was sent for the same end. But he, being advertised, that the Parliament was to be about his sentence very shortly, had no time to peruse the same; [See Appendix, OO.] I was desiring, that it may be otherwise ordered with this good man; and that he may receive what truth there is in

it, without prejudice or passion. And, if any error or mistake, upon my part, be in it, that the Lord may be pleased, to make him an instrument to discover the same to me, and help me; that I may not, through weakness or wilfulness, refuse to take out what is wrong, when so it shall be made out to be; and if otherwise, what truth there is in it, I may be more and more confirmed and established therein.

The 26th, I went to visit the prisoners in the Tolbooth. And first, I went to Mr. Robert Macquare; who, after some discourse of the paper I had left with him, evidencing his great dissatisfaction thereat, delivered it to me, and declined to reason with me in it; but desired, that none other should see it, and said, he hoped I was not fixed in the matter of it. I told him, that none had seen it, but Mr. James Guthrie and he; and as for my judgment and fixedness thereabout, I told him, that it had been my judgment, now, for many years. Yet was I very willing to hear from him or any other, what could be said against it. Some further discourse of this kind having passed, I came away.

The 27th day, I sent the said paper to Mr. Andrew Cant, Junior, at Liberton, desiring him to consider of it, and give me his judgment thereupon.

The last day of June, being a sabbath, I having been, for many days before, under a sad piece of exercise, by reason of the *unmortifiedness* of my heart, two Scriptures, also some others, were that day, and the next morning very early, brought to my mind and opened to me; so that I had good ground given me to hope, that as the exercise of his servants Hezekiah and Paul, (see 2 Chron. xxxii. 25, 26, and 2 Cor. xii. 7, 8,) might have been somewhat like unto

mine; the mind of the Lord may be, in his mercy, to give the like blessed issue and event, as he did to them, his grace being as free and sufficient for me as for them. [A third Scripture, Alexander Jaffray then adduces, Jer. ii. 19, 20, as applicable to his own condition; and concludes, that the first rise and approaches of sin, should have been more watched against, and in the true fear of God, resisted and denied, &c.]

In the end of that evening, the last of June, and in the morning of the 1st of July, these truths were sealed unto my heart.—Lord! help me to walk humbly and soberly, under the sharp, and yet more bitter, and furious assaults of the enemy; which I am to expect daily, and rather to be increased, than lessened.

And, in order to a desire, put up for direction in this case, I fell to read that excellent place, Rom. xii. 2, "Be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may *prove* what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God." "All that is in the world," says the Apostle, 1 John, ii. 16, "the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world;"—no conformity to the world *in any of these*, or in things *leading* to them;—*there's much in that.* The mind is to be renewed, so as even to have it transformed. Old things, then, pass away,—all things, to such, become new; new knowledge [also,—for] they know *more*, and *in another manner* than before. These new creatures know what the "new commandment" means, and in what sense it is new. *Their love* is not now bounded by an external, outward conformity, which, some time, was its snare to seek after; and beyond which, ordinarily, its love did not *ex-*

ceed, at least, in the manifestation of it; but now, it is enlarged *far beyond that,*—if an inward conformity may be hoped for:—*wherever* the Father's image in any measure appears, *there* it is *one,* or *desires* to be so.

[A little further on, under the date of the "3rd of July, 1661," our Author speaks of the danger of *resting in a form,* without the life and power of godliness; where the heart is apprehensive of being emptied of filthiness and pollutions, and excellently garnished with all duties, (see Isai. lviii. 2, compared with Mark, vi. 20,) there may be "great danger of much disease," "*in setting up duties in the place of Christ.*"] For, [he continues,] their comforts and peace now flow, for the most part, if not wholly, *from this frequency and diligence in duties;* to which they look, more than to the life and power in which they are done. And so are they satisfied with, and apt to contend most for the form, [and appear to be endeavouring,] in their activity, *to be saviours to themselves.* So loath is the enemy of their souls *to let them go further on, to come to Christ:*—as He said to the Jews in a similar case, John, v. 39, 40, "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me; and (observe it) ye will not come unto *me,* that ye might have *life.*" Life is not to be found,—no, not in the Scriptures; (which may comprehend all other duties of that kind,) though ever so diligently made use of; *Christ himself* must be come to, for that which no where else is to be found. It is well for those that are thus set to seek, and are *kept seeking,* until they know *where* to find Him,—even *in their heart and mouth,* Rom. x. 8; and thus get grace, to give up themselves *closely to wait upon*

and follow him here. Then their out-get will be easy; for his "yoke is" truly "easy and his burden light," when, *in this way,* we begin to be helped to take it upon us.

But, being by this digression drawn off from the particular of this day's experience, to which I was to speak, I shall say a word to it shortly, as follows.

That, among other occasions, when Satan is most busy to assault the believer, it is, ordinarily, when they have been most seeking after, or have attained to any nearness in communion with God; *then,* they may be sure he will make them, if he can, to abuse that mercy. And so did I find in my experience;—though I can say but little of any access that then, or at any time, I ever had; yet, blessed be the Lord! for the hope that was given to get more; to deprive me of which the enemy has been very busy. O! by what wanderings and diversions, has he been endeavouring to get the heart to its old bias again, to pore upon either sinful, vain, or unprofitable thoughts; knowing, that life from Christ, the Fountain of it, is ordinarily conveyed into the heart, when He is made use of *for keeping out of these.* Then comes He in, (the soul having patiently waited for him,) like a mighty *speat,* [inundation,] with free love overrunning all the banks that formerly stood in his way, and carrying them all down before him,—the mountains flow down at his presence. Isai. lxiv. 1. O! then, the creature thinks, its waiting on him well [bestowed,] and begins to feel its work to be easy; for, whatever were the former apparently insuperable difficulties, now it sees through and finds an out-get from them all. Not as if there were now any such thing, either promise or expected, as immunity

from assaults, or freedom from hazard of falling, either into sin or judgment for it. No; the heart is now more in expectation of the one, and in true fear and dread of the other, than ever. For Satan, who was but angry before, comes now in full fury to set himself and all his instruments. [Thus in hazard of being mastered, the soul] was never so on his watch, as now he desires to be; knowing, that the very being and preservation of his life, depends entirely upon his being near, and keeping close to Christ; who is the Fountain of life, and from whom, [as the Psalmist says,] lxxxvii. 7; *all his springs do flow.* "My soul followeth hard after thee," Psal. lxiii. 8;—the soul can now be at no quiet, but as and when it finds its refreshments, every moment flowing out from the streams of this, *the true Fountain of living waters;* as the Prophet says, in the name of the Lord, "I will water it *every moment*," &c. Isai. xxvii. 3; and see Jer. ii. 12, 13. For now he knows, that he has this Fountain *in himself*, as "a well of water, springing up *into everlasting life*," John, iv. 14; so he desires never to rest, but to be drawing and drinking "abundantly." Canticles, v. 1.

Some thoughts of this kind, having been very sweet to me this morning, I was desiring to know of the Lord, what course might be most suitable and conformable to his blessed will, for [enabling me,] in keeping near and close to him. My [heart] did most conclude, as follows:—With his grace and help, by which alone I stand, to endeavour to keep close to Christ, the true Light, as he enlightens himself forth in the conscience; and in his strength to labour, to shut and keep out every sinful, vain, unprofitable thought, so as to get and keep in holy,

wholesome, and good thoughts;—while I find the truth of what Paul experienced in this way, 2 Cor. x. 5, by managing rightly the weapons of our Christian warfare, *to bring every thought into subjection and obedience to Christ.* So likewise, for words and actions,—to endeavour to have a warrant for every one of them;—when to speak, or what to do;—when to go abroad, or keep within:—[in this way] *to see and know my* GUIDE,—even He who was my Guide of old, *in my youth*, when I followed him in a wilderness, in a land that was not sown, Jer. ii. 2.—And shall I not *from this time* cry unto him, "My Father! thou art the Guide of my youth!" Jer. iii. 4; and shall I be as one, "which forsaketh the Guide of her youth, and forgetteth the covenant of her God!" Prov. ii. 17. Thus, may I see and behold him, so as even to say or do *nothing* without him, ... , [and—may it not be added—by "beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord," be "changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." "Now the Lord is that Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."] 2 Cor. iii. 18, 17.

END OF THE DIARY.

APPENDIX

OF

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE DIARY.

Note A.—Page 7.

It does not very clearly appear, at what precise period Alexander Jaffray commenced his narrative. From the allusion that is made in the preceding paragraph, to his views on the constitution and government of the church, as well as from that passage at page 4, respecting his age, it is evident, the date of its first production must have been subsequent to 1654. Other circumstances, however, incline the Author of these Notes, to place the earliest insertion as late as 1656.

In a future Note, some further remark will be made, on the retrospective form of this part of the Diary.

Note B.—Page 16.

This Robert Burnet was the father of Bishop Burnet, and married a sister of the Lord Warristoun, who is several times named by our Author in future pages of his Diary. In Row's Supplement to Blair's Life, a MS. in the Library of the *Writers to the Signet* at Edinburgh, he is mentioned as being "both a good man and a good advocate;" and in *Nicoll's Diary of Occurrences*, a MS. in the Advocate's Library there, he is termed, "ane very guid, honest, and religious Christian." After the Restoration, he was made a judge in the Court of Sessions, by the title of Lord Crimond. The preface to Burnet's History of his own Times, represents him, agreeably to Jaffray's description, as "so remarkable for his strict and exemplary life, that he was generally called a Puritan."

According to the same testimony, "he was the younger brother of a family, very considerable for its authority as well as interest in the shire of Aberdeen;" his father being *Alexander Burnet of Leys*. See *Dougl. Baronage*, 42. The reader, as he proceeds, will find, that in 1645, Alexander Jaffray, with his father, took up

their abode for a time with their "cousin, Alexander Burnet the elder." Now, the maiden name of Jaffray's *mother* was Christian Burnet, and she is described in the genealogy of the family, as *daughter to the then proprietor of Leys.* Burnet, in the Diary, and in some other documents, is uniformly spelt with one *t*, which, however, does not appear to be the correct mode.—That the Burnetts, who are mentioned in the succeeding *Memoirs,* as being of the Society of Friends, were connected with the above family, is not distinctly ascertained.

Note C.—Page 16.

"In the year 1633," says Bishop Burnet, in the History of his own Times, "the King [Charles the 1st.] came down in person to be crowned.———His entry and coronation were managed with such magnificence, that the country suffered much by it: all was entertainment and show." Spalding, in his History of the Troubles, &c., edit. 1830, p. 14, gives a particular account of each day's banqueting and ceremony.

Note D.—Page 17.

George Jamieson is named in Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen as "an eminent portrait painter," who also "not unfrequently applied his talent to history, landscape, and miniature." He was employed by the magistrates of Edinburgh to make paintings of the Scottish monarchs; and in 1633, King Charles, when there on the occasion of his coronation, sat to him for his portrait. Vol. i. p. 268.

Note E.—Page 17.

The Editor has been wholly at a loss to English the expressions made use of in this place; although he has examined a glossary of Scottish phrases.—He was equally unable, even to decipher, with any certainty, two or three words towards the close of the preceding paragraph, where the hiatus is denoted: as nearly as could be made out, they are these,—"*and made some waring of wattglen or thereby.*" But a clue has occurred, whilst looking over the Annals of Aberdeen, from which it may be conjectured, that he alludes to some woollen goods, or other description of manufacture.—"In the year 1636," that is, two years *after* the time we are now arrived at in the Diary, our Author being, as we shall see, provost or chief magistrate of Aberdeen, "the *magistrates* obtained from King Charles the 1st. a patent for establishing a house of correction; chiefly with the view of re-

forming the morals, and of promoting good order and industry among a certain description of the inhabitants, who were to be employed in manufacturing broadcloths; kerseys, says, and other coarse cloths."——"The manufacture of cloths was carried on in the house of correction for several years by a joint stock company, to a pretty considerable extent." Annals, &c. vol. i. p. 257. Connecting the circumstance of Jaffray's going by Leeds and Wakefield to London, and his notice of the Yorkshire cloths, with his expressions above, there is little doubt, but that he was a chief promoter of this undertaking for bettering the condition of the poor, whether interested on his own account, or not, in any concern of a similar description.

Note F.—Page 21.

This affair is related in Spalding's History of the Troubles, &c. p. 336.—"Upon Saturday, the 1st of July, [1643,] Sir George Gordon of Haddo unhappily hurt Alexander Jaffray, late bailie, and John Jaffray their father, [or rather his brother] at Broomend, in coming frae the good-man of Brakay's burial; because the said A. J., being a bailie, had caused ward the said George's servant, for hurting another fellow. This was no just quarrel, to pursue a judge for doing justice." And further, at p. 342, "Ye heard before, how the Laird of Haddo hurt A. J. and J. J. They go over with their father, recommended by the burrow of Aberdeen to the burrows of Scotland, and makes them all their friends; and raises letters, charging Haddo to compear before the council, justice, or Commissioners of Estates at Edinburgh, the 2nd day of August, to answer at the instance of the said complainers, and of the King's advocate for his interest.—Wherefore he is fined in 20,000 merks, whereof 5000 to the complainers, and 15,000 to the public." The merk, Scots money, being 1s. 1½d., makes the fine £1125 sterling.

Note G.—Page 22.

This aggression of Haddo, with the date of its occurrence, is particularly noticed by Spalding.—"Upon Tuesday, the 19th of March, [1644,] the young Laird of Drum, Robert Irvine, his brother, the Lairds of Haddo, Gight, &c. with some others, about the number of sixty horse, about seven hours in the morning, came galloping through the Old town to New Aberdeen; and suddenly took provost Lesly, Mr. Robert Farquhar, and Alexander Jaffray, late bailies, and John Jaffray, dean of guild, his brother, out of their houses, and had them to skipper Anderson's house. It was said, there

was plundered out of Alexander Jaffray's house, some gold rings and chains, but gat little money; they mist Mr. Alexander Jaffray, [the father,] for he was not in town.——Surely, it is to be marked, the like seldom has been seen, that so few men, so pertly and publicly, should have disgraced such a brave burrow, by taking away their provost and the rest, men of note, without any kind of contradiction or obstacle." History of the Troubles, &c., p. 384. See also Baillie's Letters and Journals. The above writer adds, that "the Marquis [of Huntly] left the four captives at Strathboggie, who were transported therefrae to Auchindown upon the 2nd of April." No sooner had Huntly's party evacuated Aberdeen, than it was entered, according to Spalding, p. 405, "on the 2nd of May," by the army of the Covenanters, which consisted of 6000 horse and foot, together with the Marquis of Argyle, the Earl Marischall, the Lord Burleigh, and other noblemen.

With respect to Jaffray being a Covenanter, it is concluded, that he took the Covenant in 1638, when his father and others of the inhabitants of Aberdeen subscribed it; being urged to that measure by the Commissioners for the Covenanters, who, according to Spalding, came to Aberdeen "on the 20th of July."

Note H.—Page 26.

It will be proper, briefly to furnish some information respecting the parties and circumstances alluded to in this paragraph and the preceding one.—The real name of Alester Macdonald was Alexander, but he was indiscriminately called Alexander, Allester, and Alcester. Bishop Burnet thus explains this affair of the Macdonalds. "A great body of the Macdonalds, commanded by one Colonel Killoch, came over from Ireland to recover Kintire, the best country of all the Highlands, out of which they had been driven by the Argyle family, who had possessed their country about fifty years." Montrose, who, at the commencement of these civil commotions, had been greatly attached to the interest of the Covenanters, now devoted himself to the cause of the King. In the encounter of Macdonald and Montrose with the Lord Burleigh, which took place on the 13th of the month called September, the latter was defeated, the town was pillaged, and, as the Diary correctly states, 160 of the inhabitants were massacred. Immediately after this, Burleigh's shattered force was joined by Argyle, so that Montrose did not retain his position at Aberdeen; and this may account for Jaffray's expression, that he could not *well* stay there;—the place was yet in the hands of his friends, but it had been successively taken and retaken by opposite parties, so

that in that spot there was no safe abiding. See Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen; also Spalding, p. 447.

Dunotter, or Dunnotter Castle, now in ruins, is situated on a lofty perpendicular rock, almost surrounded by the sea, a little to the south of Stonehaven. It belonged to the Earl Marischall:—so did also the *estate of Ury*, not far from thence, and well known to the Society of Friends, as having since been in the possession of the *Barclay* family; Colonel David, the father of their "Apologist," having about this time purchased it of the Earl. Thoms, in his History of Aberdeen, relates, that the Earl, with sixteen *Covenanting* ministers and others, had taken refuge in Dunotter, while Montrose, with his Highland clan, ravaged the country; and that the latter wrote a letter to him, requesting him to support the royal cause, but that Marischall, counselled by Andrew Cant, one of the chief ministers among the Covenanters, refused to comply. Vol. i. p. 321.

With regard to Haddo's death, Balfour's Annals conveys the decision of the Parliament on his trial: so far as applies to that part of his accusation, in which the Jaffrays were concerned, it is as follows. "July 10th, 1644.—The taking of Patrick Lesley, provest of Aberdeine, Mr. Robert Farquhar, commissarey for the publicke, bailie Jaffrey, and his brother, the dean of guild, and putting them in privat prissone in the castel, of Auchindowne, and detaining them therein, they being the Kinge's free leidges, and publicke persons—Whether this cryme be punishable be death, tressone, or arbritament of the Parliament? This being putt to the voices of the housse, it was found by pluralitie of voices, that this cryme is capitall, and punishable be the paine of death." Vol. iii. p. 213.

Note I.—Page 29.

In the Parliamentary Records of Scotland, under the date of "the 19th of February, 1649," is "the supplication of Forbes of Leslie, Alexander Jaffray, bailie of Aberdeen, Andrew Cant," and others, that they may not be censured, for having burned "*the house of Pitcaple*, in the month of September, 1645," and the report of the Committee of Parliament thereon; and a vote is passed, that "they deserve the approbation of the Parliament." The petition states, that "the Lord, in the verie neck of tyme, furnished us unexpected and wonderful delyverance, by sending to our assistance the Maister of Forbes, Lord Fraser, the Lairdis of Skene, Monymusk, Echt, Leslie the younger, &c."—The name, Fraser, in the Public Records, is written promiscuously, Fraser, Frazer,

Fraiser, Frissil, Frizell. "Lord Fraser" is occasionally styled "Lord Frizell."

Note J.—Page 29.

On an examination of the *Acts and Minutes of the Scottish Parliament*, at the date of the 3rd of the month called February, 1646, Alexander Jaffray is found to be one of "a Commission for Proceedings against *Malignants and Delinquents*." According to Balfour's Annals, this was a Committee for "Fines, Processes, and Excise."—Although he notices thus cursorily his being a member of Parliament in 1646, and again, at a future page, in 1649; yet, by the *Acts and Minutes*, it would seem, that he also stood in that character in 1644 and 1648. The following are some of the occasions upon which his name appears in the Parliamentary Records, as being on committees or otherwise; but which are wholly passed over by Jaffray in his Diary.

1644, 5th month, (July) 19th. He is nominated with others a Commissioner for Suppressing the Rebellion, which was put down by Argyle.

24th. On a Committee of War for the county of Aberdeen.

1646, 12th mo: 2nd. On a similar appointment.

1648, 2nd mo: 18th. On a similar appointment.

1649, 11th mo: 5th. On the Committee of Burgesses, or Commons, for Despatches and Public Affairs. (Note. The Lords and Burgesses sat in the same house.)

12th. Appointed, with Robert Barclay, (no description given of R. B.,) on behalf of the Burgesses, on a Committee.

12th mo: 14th. Joins in a Report to Parliament, on a Petition of the Earl of Sutherland.

15th. On a General Committee for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence.

1st mo: 14th, 1650. On the Committee of Estates.

15th. On the Commission for Plantation of Kirks; and a Commissioner of Exchequer.

16th. Is added to the Committee on Despatches; also on Valuations.

26th. On a Committee, to report on the most effectual way of paying the troops, and gratuities to wounded soldiers.

5th mo: 31st. On a Commission for visiting the College at Aberdeen.

6th mo: 7th. On the Committee of Estates.

5th mo: 4th. Along with the Earls of Cassilis, Buccleugh,

Lothian, the Lairds Brodie, Libertoun, and others, "to repair to his Majestye, and congratulate him on his happy arrival in this kingdome."

During the course of this chapter, as in others, our Diarist enters rather at large on some circumstances in which he was engaged, and especially on the progress of his mind, in relation to subjects deeply interesting to him; whilst he forbears to *lay out* to view the part he took in some other public events, where these have no immediate application to his spiritual career. Such omissions, of even important transactions of his life, may have in part arisen from the professed design of the Diary, which is purely *religious;* but, it is believed, they are also in some degree attributable to the Writer's unusually humble views and feelings.—One circumstance wholly passed over at this period, is the following. In 1651, Alexander Jaffray was provost or mayor of Aberdeen; and, in the course of that year, according to the Records of the town Council, was deputed a Commissioner to General Monk at Dundee "*concerning certain important matters.*" What these matters were, the town Records do not state; but, in Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, the most probable explanation of *one* of these affairs, occurs. That place surrendered at discretion to the army of General Monk, as this author relates, "on the 7th of September," when the English took possession of the town. They immediately imposed upon the citizens a contribution of £12,000. A representation, however, being made "to General Monk by a deputation of the citizens, of the various hardships which they had suffered during the civil wars, and of the distress occasioned by the pestilence, which had lately infested the town, he was pleased to suspend the exaction of the money." Vol. i. p. 228.

Note K.—Page 32.

Alexander Jaffray's father may here be briefly spoken of, as having been provost of Aberdeen, also a member of the Scottish Parliament, and of the Committee of Estates; a Commissioner, likewise, on one occasion to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Spalding, who evidently is not partial to him, notices that, in 1645, "he departed this life in New Aberdeen; a rigorous Covenanter."

Note L.—Page 32.

"The plague, which had existed in the southern districts of Scotland for two years, broke out in Aberdeen about the 1st of

June, 1647, and continued its ravages till almost the end of October. The election of the magistrates this year, was held at Gilcomston, on account of the pestilence, which cut off in Aberdeen 1600 of the inhabitants." Thoms' History, vol. i. p. 330. According to Kennedy, the population may be computed to have then stood at 9000.—Jaffray is conjectured to have been at that time a bailie or magistrate, not the provost or mayor. He repeatedly filled both these offices; his name appearing as provost in the years 1636, 1639, 1642, 1649, and 1651; and as bailie in 1634, 1641, 1643, 1645, and 1648. There is, however, some difficulty in precisely fixing the dates, as the election took place in the *latter* part of each year for the *ensuing*. This must account for the discrepancy between Spalding's statement, and that which has been obligingly furnished the Editor, by James Hardie, the city chamberlain of Aberdeen, from the Records of the town Council. The name of Jaffray's father being likewise *Alexander*, this circumstauce should probably strike off the two first years of his nomination to each office, as belonging, it is supposed, to the father rather than the son, who would be only twenty years of age in 1634.—In the year 1648, he was deputed to repair to Edinburgh, to confer with the Committee of Estates about the mode of election of the provost. Annals of Aberdeen, vol. i. p. 243.

Note M.—Page 35.

Thus modestly, nay scantily, does our humble-minded, amiable Author narrate the matter of fact respecting his important appointment, at too distinct periods, as a delegate from the Parliament of Scotland to King Charles the 2nd; attended, as such a negociation must have been, with circumstances of difficult and critical adjustment. Under whatever veil of delusion, or of deficiency, we suppose him at that period to be partially disguised, doubtless, it would have been interesting, to have viewed the man, as a religious character, in his intercourse with his colleagues on such a business, and much more so on the occasion of interviews with their exiled Monarch; especially as the space of time embraced by each of these engagements was nearly three months. But while regretting the loss we sustain, both by a chasm in this part of the Diary, as well as by the summary glance which is taken of this transaction of Jaffray's life, let us not omit to mark,—amidst his reflections upon it as a political event,—*how liberal he is in self-condemnation*. Nor does he spare to animadvert with freedom on what he considered to be the carnal policy and con-

trivances of others; yet, through all, his heart is not obstructed from rising into grateful admiration, at that powerful and pitiful Hand, who in all that He permits or dispenses, is willing to overrule every occurrence to the good of those who truly humble themselves before Him.

It will not be thought, either assuming the character of historian, to which indeed the Editor lays no claim, or assigning to the reader any want of acquaintance with this portion of Scottish affairs, if he attempts, from such authorities as have been met with, to bring together some information relative to this treaty; which, as it does not form part of Jaffray's own recital, may add some interest to his subject. Before, however, expressly adverting to that point, a strong testimony may here be adduced in favour of his public-spirited character, evinced towards the place he represented in Parliament, on the occasion of being called upon to join in this national embassy: it is conveyed in a publication, entitled, "Memorials for the Government of the Royal Burghs of Scotland; with some overtures laid before the nobility and gentry of the several shires in this kingdom, &c. By a Lover of the public welfare. Aberdeen, 1685."

"The Parliament made choice of Alexander Jaffray of Kingswells, Commissioner for Aberdeen, who was a very wise, pious, and discreet man all his time, to be one of the burrowes to go over to Holland to the King. And he, to be faithful to the city he had his commission from, entreated the Parliament to consider the most important article in his commission, that so he might undertake that weighty employment with the greater alacrity; which was, to visit the counts of the extraordinary loss of Aberdeen relating to the people. The Parliament had that respect to him, and was so desirous to grant his so just demand, that forthwith they did depute some fit members; who, after hearing and considering, made their report; and thereupon, the Parliament by an Act did acknowledge themselves, as the representatives of the nation, to be justly resting to the city of Aberdeen the sum of nine hundred three score and nine thousand merks, [upwards of £56,000 sterling] and did grant the cess of the city to be allowed to them for as many months as drew to eighteen thousand merks; because this great sum that was due to them, had exhausted the sums of money that were mortified to hospitals, schools, the college, and the common poor of that city, and had ruined almost the common thesaurie thereof. But this was all they could spare at that time, till an opportunity might fall out to make them more full pay-

ment; which hitherto hath ever failed, and hath been the cause of the several heavy, burdensome taxations, that have of late years been laid on.——Our above-mentioned Commissioner obtained, also, an Act of Parliament, that no soldier should be quartered in Aberdeen for three years thereafter: such was the great respect the Parliament had to him. Whereupon, he went to the King with the rest of the Commissioners of the three Estates."—The same author states, that " when he was Commissioner to the Convention of burrowes at Queensferry, Jaffray obtained half a merk down of Aberdeen's proportion of the one hundred pounds of stent roll, which was a great advantage to the city."—But to return.

In addition to the four Commissioners mentioned by Jaffray, including himself, who were deputed by the Scottish Parliament in 1649 to treat with the King, Godwin, in his History of the Commonwealth, numbers one other, besides three appointed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and he refers to Balfour as his authority. Lamont, in his Diary, p. 2, speaks only of two for the Church, "namly, Mr. James Wood, minister of St. Androus, and Mr. Robert Baillie, minister of Glascowe." They "shipped in," he continues, "at Kirkekaldie in Jhon Gillespie's shipe, and loused on Saterday the 17th of March at night: they returned to this kingdome the 11th of June, 1649, mutch unsatisfied."—With regard to those who were Commissioners in 1650, Whitelocke, in his Memorials, p. 444, takes notice, that "six Lords, two gentlemen, and three ministers, were to go to Breda with new propositions to the King." Godwin, quoting the same authority as before, says, "The Commissioners that were sent were Cassilis and Lothian for the Peers, with two for the barons, two for the boroughs, and three for the church; and they sailed from Scotland on the 9th of March." Vol. iii. p. 208. Again, Lamont mentions but two ministers, James Wood and "Thomas Levistone." Thus do these authors differ from each other.

It will not be deviating from the scope of these annotations, to insert an extract or two from the Journal of the last individual, *while engaged on this business;* Jaffray being particularly alluded to by him. The Editor obtained access to this small volume at the Library of the British Museum, the purport of its title being, *The Life of John* [not Thomas] *Livingstone.*—"When I considered," says the writer, "the Commissioners sent by the State, I was not willing to embark in any business with them. Cassels, Brodie, and A. Jaffray, I had no exception against; the other three [Lothian, George Wynram, styled, the Laird Libertoun, and Sir John

Smith,] I suspected, would be ready to condescend to an agreement upon unsafe terms." p. 39. Again, at p. 43, "None of us *three* ministers ever went to the King alone, but often all together, or at least two of us. We went seldom, but whenever we went, we had access and liberty to stay, and speak so long as we pleased. We oft urged, that if the King had any scruples against the Covenant, or any of the parts of uniformity, or desires of the treaty, that he would impart them to us: but he never propounded any such thing." Jaffray and Brodie, it appears, often united in sentiment, in opposition to that of Lothian, Libertoun, and Smith, "who ordinarily agreed in one voice, and that, sometimes, such as some of us were not well pleased with." p. 42. One more passage, relative to their departure, will suffice. "Brodie, Jaffray, and we three ministers staid on shore, after the other Commissioners went on board, and hesitated to go at all, seeing the King had those about him in the vessel, whom the Parliament had objected should not accompany him. Brodie and A. Jaffray said, it were to have been wished that they had staid ashore; but now as matters stood, it was best to go aboard, and discharge their trust in the last instructions from the Parliament." p. 48.—The only observation which the Editor would hazard upon the foregoing statements, is, the mere conjecture that the three individuals, against whom Livingstone had no exception, were men of sincere, however mistaken, views; each, perhaps, meriting a share in that language, which Bishop Burnet applies to one of them, the Earl of Cassilis,—"a man of great virtue and of a considerable degree of good understanding; he was so sincere, that he would suffer no man to take his word, in any other sense than as he meant them: he adhered firmly to his instructions [as Commissioner] but with much candour———." They appear to have found more points of union among themselves than with the rest, and according consorted together; Jaffray, in another part of his Diary, expressing particular and pious interest on the behalf of his friend, "that worthy man, the Laird Brodie." Yet he also tells us, he found it safe, not too implicitly to trust or follow even such as these.

Some readers may wish to have placed before them, the conditions on which the treaty with the King stood. They are thus given by Neale, in the History of the Puritans. "First, That all persons excommunicated by the Kirk, should be forbid the court. Second, That the King by his solemn oath, and under his hand and seal, declare his allowance of the Covenant. Third, That he confirm those Acts of Parliament, which enjoin the Covenan

That he establish the Presbyterian worship and discipline, and swear never to oppose, or endeavour to alter them. Fourth, That all civil matters be determined by Parliament, and all ecclesiastical affairs by the Kirk. Fifth, That his Majesty ratify all that has been done in the Parliament of Scotland in some late sessions, and sign the Covenant upon his arrival in that kingdom, if the Kirk desired it."—"The King arrived in Scotland June 23rd," continues Neale; "but, before his landing, the Commissioners insisted upon his signing the Covenant, and upon his parting with all his old counsellors; which he did."—It is not needful to insert the Covenant at full length; but the tenor of it, is thus set forth by the author of the "*Hind let loose*," p. 65. It imported, and required of subscribers, "their sincere and constant endeavours, in their several places and callings, for the preservation of the uniformity in reformation, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, error, and profanity; the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, and of the magistrate's authority, in the defence of the true religion and liberty; the discovery and punishment of incendiaries; the retaining of the peace and union of the kingdoms; the mutual assistance and defence of all under the bond of this Covenant, and the performing all duties we owe to God, in the amendment of our lives and walking exemplary one before another."

The day after his arrival, the King was conveyed to Aberdeen, where "he was lodged in a merchant's house opposite the Tolbooth," as appears by a very particular account of his landing and reception, given in "Historical Discourses, &c. by Sir Edward Walker." A letter is recorded in the Council register of Aberdeen, vol. 53, signed by Jaffray and his fellow-commissioners at this juncture, and addressed to the magistrates, as follows.

"Worshipfull and good Friends,

"We have directed these to let you know, that the King is safely arrived, and intends, if God permits, to be at Aberdeen on Thursday at night; therefore ye will take such care to provide such lodgings for him, and for the Commissioners, and for the train, as may be best had on so short advertisement. And we beseech you, let nothing be wanting which may testify your affection to the native King, who has fully assured all the desire of his people. No further, but we are your very assured friends,

"Cassillis," "J. Brodie," "J. Smith,"
"Lothiane," "George Wynram," "Al. Jaffray."
"Speymouth, 23rd June, 1650."

The only remaining document to be laid before the reader, connected with and winding up the whole subject of these observations, is the following "Act of approbation of the Commissioners, their faithfulness and diligence in their commission." It is taken from a tract, which the Editor met with at the Library of the London Institution, entitled, "The proceedings of the Commissioners of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, with his Majesty at the Hague; and the papers interchanged betwixt his Majesty and them, as they were reported in Parliament and the General Assembly. Appointed by authority to be published, 1649." There is also another tract, with a similar "Act of Approbation of the Commissioners," &c., dated 1650; its title running "Some Passages in the Parliament of Scotland," &c.

"At Edinburgh, the 14th day of June, 1649. The Estates of Parliament, now presently convened, in the third session of this second triennial Parliament, having received from John Earl of Cassils, Alexander Brodie of that ilk, Master George Winrame of Libbertoun, and Alexander Jaffray, burges of Aberdeen, their Commissioners sent to the King's Majesty, the report of all their proceedings with the King, and read the papers delivered therewith to this Parliament; and being fully satisfied with their integrity, faithfulness, and diligence, in contributing their utmost endeavours for prosecuting their instructions, and for obtaining satisfaction to the desires of this kingdom; do therefore unanimously and heartily acknowledge their faithfulness and diligence, and approve their proceedings, and render to them the hearty thanks of this kingdom for the same.

"Sic subscribitur,

"ARCH. JOHNSTOUN."

NOTE N.—Page 38.

In a tract, "printed in London, September 9th, 1650," containing "An Official Account of the Battle of Dunbar, &c. certified by Letters from the Headquarters of the Army, under date 4th September," there is a list of the Scottish prisoners; and among them are named "Lord Liberton, Mr. Alexander Jaffray, of the Committee of Estates, Mr. Gillespy, minister, Mr. John Waugh, minister."—It also appears by a letter inserted in Thurlow's State Papers, from Oliver Cromwell to Lieutenant General Lesly, that "*Provost Jaffray, Custairs, and Wauch*" were the prisoners exchanged for the seamen and their officers.—Among some extracts, taken from the town Records of Aberdeen, by permission of James

Hardie, the city chamberlain of that place, is an order to John Jaffray, brother of Alexander, and one of the bailies or magistrates, "to repair to Perth, &c. to obtain his speedy liberation."—During his imprisonment, being at Edinburgh, while Cromwell and his army lay before the Castle, previous to its surrender, the following curious and important transaction took place, in which Alexander Jaffray was concerned. It is taken from the work entitled, "Cromwelliana," p. 95.

"The General having all things in readiness for battering the Castle, on Thursday last sent a summons to the Governor Dundas, for the surrender thereof; a copy of it, and the answers, replies, and other intercourses that passed upon that occasion between the Lord General and him, you have hereafter." Then, at p. 97, one from the Governor requests "to hear the information of late proceedings from such as I dare trust, and have had occasion to know the certainty of things." "Such," he adds, "I hope you will permit to come alongst at the first convenience, and during that time, all acts of hostility and prosecution of attempts be forborne on both sides." Dated, "14th December, 1650." To this Cromwell replies, "If you please to name any you would speak with now in town, they shall have liberty to come and speak with you for one hour, if they will, provided you send presently. I expect there will be no loss of time."—"Then the Governor sent a letter to his excellency, to desire two Scotch gentlemen, then in Edinburgh, to come in to speak with him. Hereupon, his excellency returned these papers following to the Governor of Edinburgh Castle, viz:"

"Sir, Having acquainted the gentlemen with your desire to speak with them, and they making some difficulty of it, have desired me to send you this enclosed. I rest, Sir, your servant,

"Oliver Cromwell."

"Edinburgh, 14th December, 1650.

"For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle."

"Right Honourable, We now hearing that you was desirous to speak with us for your information of the posture of affairs, we would be glad, and we think you make no doubt of it, to be refreshing or useful to you in any thing; but the matter is of so high concernment, especially since it may be, you will lean somewhat upon our information in managing that important trust put upon you, that we dare not take upon us to meddle: ye may therefore do as ye find yourselves clear and in capacity, and the Lord be with you.

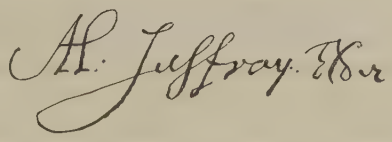
"We are, Sir, your Honour's humble servants, wellwishers in the Lord,

"M. JAFFRAY."
"JO. CARSTAIRS."

"Edinburgh, 14th December, 1650.

"For the Right Honourable, &c."

It is evident, on inspection of Alexander Jaffray's signature, a fac-simile of which is here given, that this should stand "*Al.*" not "*M. Jaffray.*"



NOTE O.—Page 39.

John Owen, whose views of religious liberty are thus particularly adverted to by Jaffray, and whose edifying conversation was, at this juncture, the means of throwing considerable degree of light upon his mind, with regard to some other topics, was not styled "Dr. Owen," till after he became "Dean of Christchurch" and "Vicechancellor of Oxford." It may assist such readers as have not perused the Memoirs of his Life by Orme, to introduce from that work some few observations respecting him, as connected with this passage of the Diary.

Owen was, in 1649, appointed by the Parliament chaplain to Cromwell, whom he accompanied to Ireland. In 1650, he was ordered by the same authority, to proceed to the army in Scotland; and he joined Cromwell at Berwick. He continued with the army till early in 1651. For a considerable time, he had advocated the cause of liberty of conscience; and especially in 1649, when called to preach before the Parliament, *the day after the execution of Charles the 1st.* He faithfully told them on that occasion, that "much of the evil which had come upon the country, had originated within their own walls," and warned them against "oppression, self-seeking, and contrivances for persecution." But that which forms the chief reason for bringing forward this discourse, is an *Essay on Toleration* annexed to it. In this piece, he examines particularly the arguments of the Scottish General Assembly in favour of a forced uniformity, and exposes their fallacy. "Gospel constitutions," says he, "in the case of heresy or error, seem not to favour any course of violence, I mean, of civil penalties. Foretold it is, that heresies *must be;* but, this is for the

manifesting of those *that are approved*, not the destroying of those *that are not.*———Admonitions, and excommunications upon rejection of admonition, are the *highest* constitutions against such persons; waiting with all patience on them that oppose themselves, if at any time God will give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth. Imprisoning, banishing, slaying, is scarcely *a patient waiting.* God doth not so wait on unbelievers.———" Memoirs of Owen, p. 89—104.

Note P.—Page 40.

These meetings of ministers and professors at Edinburgh, convened soon after the battle of Dunbar, chiefly related to a schism which at that time took place in the Church of Scotland, and lasted till the Restoration. Burnet thus describes its origin, vol. i. p. 75. "A question had been proposed, both to the Committee of States and to the Commissioners of the Kirk, whether, in this extremity, those who had made defection, or had been hitherto too backward in the work, might not, upon the profession of their repentance, be received into public trust, and admitted to serve in the defence of their country. To this, answers were distinctly given, by two resolutions: the one was, that they ought to be admitted to make profession of their repentance: the other was, that after such professions made, they might be received to defend and serve their country. Upon this, a great division followed in the Kirk: those who adhered to these resolutions were called the *Public Resolutioners:* but, against these, some of those bodies protested; and they, together with those who adhered to them, were called the *Protesters.*" In the progress of this difference, other occasions of debate arose. Warristoun, Guthrie, Patrick Gilespie, Rutherford and others were on the side of the Protesters; whether Jaffray wholly identified himself with them, does not appear; but if so, it was but for a short space, as the complexion of his interviews with them, and his subsequent more decided separation from the Scottish Presbyterian Church, fully prove.

Row's Supplement to Blair's Life, a manuscript before referred to, notices "some deserting the cause of monarchy and Presbytery, especially of the *Malignant* temper, with a few formerlie accompted pious and gracious men; their minds being corrupted by Sectarian principalls." p. 102. This writer further speaks of the extrajudicial meeting of Protesters, both ministers, elders, and professors, at Edinburgh, "in the end of December, 1651;" and that one object they had, was to converse with some of these, for preventing *their compliance with the enemy*, meaning, the Parlia-

ment's army. He observes, "they war not all alyke bentt for a sinfull complyance, and following of the Sectaries courses, and favouringe thair erroris." "The maine busines that was agitat at this meitting was anent a letter to be wreatten to Crumweall." p. 102.

Note Q.—Page 41.

Of these individuals, with whom Jaffray had interviews, both publicly and more privately, it seems needful to give some very brief account.

In the Life of Bishop Burnet, prefixed to the History of his own Times, it is said of "Sir Archibald Johnstoun," that he was called Lord Warristoun, and was, during the civil wars, at the head of the Presbyterians, for many years being intrusted with the whole government of Scotland. Burnet's mother was his own sister. After the Restoration, in 1663, Warristoun went abroad, to avoid the fury of his enemies; sentence of forfeiture and death was passed against him by the Parliament in his absence; and at length he was apprehended in France, brought over prisoner, and executed. Cruickshank's History, vol. i. p. 162.—According to the last-named author, James Guthrie was minister at Stirling; of him, some further notice will be taken in a succeeding page.—John Livingstone, minister of Ancrum, has been before mentioned in note M, as one of the Commissioners appointed by the Scottish Kirk, to treat with King Charles the 2nd at Breda. When, however, the King was restored, and Episcopacy reestablished, he was banished and went to Holland.—Rutherford, whose "Letters" are well known to the serious classes of the present day, had been one of the Commissioners from the General Assembly to the "Assembly of Divines" at Westminster. Soon after the Restoration, his noted book, "Lex Rex," was ordered to be publicly burnt, at the cross of Edinburgh, and at the gate of New College "St. Andrews," where he was "professor of divinity." He was summoned before the Parliament of Scotland for high treason; but, being then in a dying condition, was taken away from the evil to come.—Carstairs, "that excellent, precious man," as Jaffray terms him, it will be remembered, was taken prisoner with the latter at the battle of Dunbar. He was minister at Glasgow; and, being similarly situated with others now spoken of, about the same period, underwent the sentence of banishment, but owing to illness was allowed for a time to remain; yet afterwards he withdrew to Holland.—Alexander Skene was a magistrate of Aberdeen, and, it is probable, stood

in the station of ruling elder or deacon; as he was sent for by this meeting of ministers, there can be no question about his standing among his fellow-professors. He became a valued member of the Society of Friends, as the ensuing *Memoirs* of that people will show.

Note R.—Page 44.

"Mr. James Wood was, some time after the year 1651, made Provost or Principal of the Old College of St. Andrews, and one of the ministers there"———"and continued in the service of the foresaid offices until 1663." "He refuted the Independents, and asserted the Presbyterial government."—Biographia Scotticana, or Scotch Worthies, p. 271. James Wood, it will be recollected, was one of the Commissioners from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, to treat with the King, both in 1649 and 1650.

In addition to the above information, the Editor is enabled, by a search in the Library of the British Museum, to lay before the reader, as he supposes, the very allusion to Jaffray in one of Wood's publications, entitled, "An Examination and Refutation of Mr. Lockyer's Lecture, preached at Edinburgh anno 1651, concerning the matter of the visible Church, &c.; Edinb. 1654." The appendix to part 1st of the above contains this sentence: "Last summer some persons, ministers and others in Aberdeen, did write a letter of the date 24th of May, to some godly men in the south, declaring their separation from the communion of the Church of Scotland, upon two points of controversy between us and these of the Independent way, viz. the constitution of the visible church and the government thereof." In an appendix to part 2nd of the same work, Wood brings forward what *they of Aberdeen had averred* in their letter,—that when thoughts of questioning the Presbyterian government were first borne in upon them, they did a long time suppress them as temptations. "Because we had so solemnly (though too implicitly) engaged to the maintenance thereof: yet, afterwards, knowing that truth cannot lose by a search, we brought the matters to the balance of the sanctuary. And now, after seeking of God as he was pleased to give us grace, and using all helps which we could have, we profess, so far as we can see, (with reverence to precious and learned men of another judgment,) the congregational way comes nearer to the pattern of the word than the classical form." In reply to this, Wood writes, p. 361, "It may be just matter of inquiry to others, and haply may be of good purposes to themselves, to reflect and consider, when these thoughts

began first to be *borne in* upon them, at least, when they began to *out* any thing of them. Did we hear any thing of such thoughts in them, but since the great revolution of state in this kingdom, after *Worcester?*" meaning the battle of Worcester, when the Scottish army and their King were defeated. "This," adds he, "may seem to be ground of searching of heart, which is deceitful above measure."———There is too much of genuineness and sincerity about Jaffray's account of the progress of his own mind in these matters, for us to question the purity of his motives for a change from Presbyterian to Independent sentiments. Certainly, Wood's quotation from the *Aberdeen letter* tends rather to *confirm* the respect we *must* have for that cautious, humble, and tender disposition, with which these scruples were entertained and communicated. The Editor sees much of Jaffray's cast of thought and of expression in the letter alluded to: it cannot be ascertained, that he himself wrote it, but this appears highly probable; that he took much interest in the subject of it, and was one of those who signed such a paper, the reader will observe as he proceeds.

Since the preceding part of this Note was penned, by favour of "Dr. Lee," the present Clerk of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, permission has been obtained to take a copy of the identical letter above referred to, which was ascertained to be among the *Woodrow MSS.* fol. 30. 24. in the possession of that religious body. Though long, there needs no apology for its insertion; inasmuch as, while by its tenour and weight the motives of Jaffray are completely cleared from the imputations of James Wood, his views in regard to the change he was then about making, are materially developed. It is accompanied by two answers, one from Warristoun, of considerably greater length than this letter.

"Aberdeen, May 24th, 1652.

"Right honourable, reverend, and much honoured in the Lord!

"Fear to offend you and other precious men in the land, has made us hitherto to *bear up* sundry things that were upon our spirits; but our consciences will permit us to keep silence no longer; wherefore we have made bold, before we appear more publicly, to give you a short account of our thoughts; being confident you will use freedom with us in love.

"What secret smitings of heart the people of God through the land have, we know not; but to us it seems, there is much more to be read in the Lord's dispensations toward the land, than as yet hath been publicly taken with or acknowledged by them. There be two things,

amongst others, as we humbly conceive, which the Lord is calling his people in this nation to look more narrowly to than before; namely, the constitution of our church, and government thereof. It is far from our thoughts to say, the Lord has no church in Scotland; but we must crave leave to say, (and, O that we had [prepared] hearts for it!) that the holy ordinances of Jesus Christ have been prostituted amongst us to a profane, mixed multitude; yea, and for aught we understand, the rule of constitution of gospel churches, according to the word, has never been so looked to as it ought:—and so, at best, we have but an impure church. And this we speak, without any derogation to those worthy men, who were instrumental in our first reformation, whose memory is precious to us; nay, we verily judge, that if those holy men were alive in our times, they would exceedingly offend at us, who have *sat down in their dawning light,* which had its own mixture of darkness.

"To us it seems, for aught we can search in the word, that none should be admitted as constituent members of a visible church, but such as with a profession of the Truth join such a blameless and gospel-like behaviour, as they may be esteemed, in a rational judgment of charity, believers, and their children. Such were the churches founded by the apostles, which ought to be patterns for us, as appears by the titles given to them, "saints, sanctified, justified, purchased by the blood of Christ," &c. We cannot acquiesce to that common answer, that these expressions are to be understood of the better part; for that they are to be understood of them all, according to the judgment of charity, the Holy Ghost has clearly said, Rom. i. 7, "To *all* that be in Rome, beloved of God, called saints;" and again, ver. 8, "I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all." We hope, when the Apostle says, 1 Cor. vi. 18, "Flee fornication," none will deny that he speaks to the whole church; yet, to the same persons he immediately adds, ver. 19, 20, "Your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you—ye are not your own—ye are bought with a price." This is an argument taken from the persons whom he thus exhorted. But the exhortation is to all the church of Corinth, therefore they were all such, as the Apostle judged in charity, the redeemed of the Lord. Neither has [that] any weight with us, on the contrary, which is objected, that there were gross faults among them, such as divisions, intemperance, questioning the resurrection, incest, &c. Will not Lot's drunkenness and incest, David's adultery, Peter's denial, &c. [say they,] prove these to be sins in-

cident to saints, though justly censurable? As the incestuous Corinthian was excommunicated;—a man who once, as is spoken of Gaius, had been approved of the Truth itself;—though he be overtaken with a gross infirmity, albeit for it he be censurable, according to the nature of his offence, yea, though the highest ecclesiastical censure pass against him; yet, [say they,] is he to be esteemed [or treated with] as a brother, 2 Thess. iii. 15. But this is not our case. Our churches are overflowed with a deluge of profane atheists, who have been such from their birth unto this present hour. John Baptist thought not a bare verbal profession, ground to admit those to baptism who came to him to be baptized; as is clear, if we compare Matt. iii. with Luke vii. 30. The Pharisees were not baptized of John. If it be replied, that Christ, in Luke, speaks only of some of the Pharisees, the sense of the context will easily refute it; for, there, he chides the Pharisees as worse than the Publicans in this,—that the Publicans came to John's baptism in a capacity to be baptized, and were baptized of him, which the Pharisees did not. But if these many Pharisees, spoken of in Matt. iii. 7. had been baptized of John, and only some others of them rejected his baptism; surely the Pharisees, in this, had been nothing behind the Publicans, for neither were all the Publicans baptized of John.

"Many more, and more pressing grounds from the word, might be alleged to make forth this point; but we are loath to be tedious;—only, sure we are, *holiness becomes the house of our God.* It is certain, our churches were not constituted according to this rule, in the full extent of it; yea, alas! few of our most precious men will acknowledge it to be the rule. But our consciences convince us, that we are under a sinful snare by reason of our mixtures. There are some of the most holy ordinances of Jesus Christ, as the sacrament of the supper, which we know not how to partake of, without sin, with our multitude. 1 Cor. x. 16, 17. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we being many are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread." If then we should communicate with those who are *knownly* profane, should we not, upon the matter, own and acknowledge *such*, as the members of Christ? Doth not even that charge reach us, 2 Cor. vi. 17. "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, touch no unclean thing, and I will receive you." Here, indeed, he speaks of a cessation from the heathen; but the mediums

which he uses, to infer this particular conclusion, are general, and will no less bear the weight of another particular conclusion relating to our case. Thus, ver. 14, 15, he reasons, "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, and what communion hath light with darkness, and what concord hath Christ with Belial, or what part hath he that believeth with an unbeliever?' Who can deny, but these general terms will comprehend gross public wickedness amongst professed Christians, as well as heathenish idolaters. It is far from us to intend a separation from the godly in Scotland; they shall be, through the Lord's grace, dear to us as our own souls, aye, *though they should persecute us*, our hearts shall cleave to them. But may not a purge remedy all this? O that it could! But shall a tenth, shall one of a city, two of a tribe, purge a whole nation? Is not a little leaven ready to leaven the whole lump? What then may be expected, when the whole lump is leavened, and only a small remnant through the goodness of God kept pure? Is there any hope that the ministry of Scotland, considering our present posture, can be purged? Have not the corrupt party, which are the more numerous, began to thrust out the more precious ministers? and are they not likely to proceed? Can we have purged elderships or congregations? are there not many congregations, where all are involved under gross ignorance and public scandals, as swearings, [or sneerings,] who shall be elders there to purge out the sour leaven? We have been these divers months endeavouring, with our brethren in the province and in the presbytery, yea, and with some primely interested in our own congregations, for a purge; but we have travailed long, and brought forth nothing but wind. But lastly, is it not in vain to speak of purging, when our best men will not agree upon the rule of purging; and therefore to talk of purging, considering our posture, seems to us but a specious notion, to entangle our spirits and keep us from duty.

"Touching Presbyterial government, indeed, *when thoughts of questioning it were first borne in upon us, we did a long time suppress them as temptations;* because we had solemnly, though too implicitly, engaged to the maintenance thereof. Yet afterwards, knowing that a truth cannot lose by a search, we brought the matter to the balance of the sanctuary; and now, after seeking of God, as he was pleased to give grace, and using all helps which we could have, we profess, so far as we can see, (with reverence to precious and learned men of another judgment,) the congregational way comes nearer to the pattern of the word than our

classical form. And to us it appears, that Christ has furnished a congregation, with their elderships, with complete power of jurisdiction and censure within themselves; as from divers other Scriptures, so in particular from that remarkable text, Matt. xviii. 15 to 18, "Tell it unto the church." The church there spoken of, has complete power of binding and loosing, as is clear from ver. 17, 18; but that church is not the classical presbytery, but the eldership with the congregation; therefore, &c. The assumption is clear: First, Because it is not to be found in all the gospel, that a company of elders, either of a classis or of a congregation, apart from the congregation, is called a church. Indeed, a congregation, with elders commonly, yea, and sometimes as contradistinguished from elders, aye, and sometimes also without elders, is sometimes termed a church, Acts xv. 4, 22, 23, and xiv. 23. Now, what an absurdity were it, to reject the usual acceptation of the word in the New Testament, and, without any colour of reason, to coin a sense which no where is to be found in all the gospel, though the word be most frequently used in it.—Second, The church spoken of in this text, [Matt. xviii.] which has complete power of binding and loosing, is the first ecclesiastical judicatory, to which belongs judicial cognizance of offences; for if private admonition do not gain the offender, then the command is, Tell the church. But our classical presbytery is not the first judicature to which appertains judicial cognizance of offences; for first they come to sessions, and only by reference from the sessions to the presbyteries. Therefore this church, here spoken of as having complete power of binding and loosing, cannot be the classical presbytery, but the eldership with the congregation. No where do we read in the gospel, of jurisdiction in relation to censure committed to a classical presbytery; all the power we find exercised by that meeting at Jerusalem, Acts, xv., is dogmatical—("Ye people and brethren"—having their interest likeways)—which the congregation divines willingly *zield* [yield;] all the certificate they use, is, "If ye do these things, ye shall do well," ver. 29, but do not threaten to sentence those who disobey, with excommunication. There might be something said from antiquity, that the government of the church was partly aristocratical, partly democratical, in much of the first 300 years; and that the people had no small influence in matters of discipline;—but we forbear, as desiring to lean on a surer foundation.

"It is not any by-respect for what we know of our own hearts, as our consciences bear us witness, but conviction of duty, which

puts us out to this; and though precious people in the land shall have hard thoughts of us for it, *we hope to find mercy to have tender thoughts of them.* The Lord has highly honoured you to bear witness, oftener than once, to contradicted truth; but we dare say, if the Lord would clear your judgments, to appear upon the head of this business, it would be the greatest honour which ever God conferred on you; and we, poor creatures, would gladly come under your shadow. It would be no shame for you to acknowledge, the Lord's work has outgrown your expectations; but it fears us, while ye stand [at] a distance from the duty, the Lord's hand *shall be "stretched out still."* And we humbly desire you to take heed, (we trust you will pardon our freedom,) lest ye be snares to the people of God in the land; for the eyes of all are upon you, and many depend upon your motions. It is not presumption, but love and respect to you, makes us so bold, and to use such plainness of speech. Therefore we hope we shall not be mistaken; yet if the Lord, by you or yet any other, will hold forth convincing light to us, discovering our mistakes, we should gladly close with it; only, if we be necessitated to take any course for *expeding* [ridding] ourselves from the present snares and guiltiness, under which we lie, we desire ye will not construe it hardly.

"Now, that light may be let forth to you and us both, from Him who is the Father of lights, shall be the earnest desire of your loving brethren in Christ,

"In name of others in this place, *sic subscribitur*,

"Alexander Jaffray,
"Mr. William Moore,
"Mr. John Row,
"Mr. John Meinzies,
"Andrew Birnie."

Note S.—Page 44.

The following quotation from Orme's Life of Owen, p. 127, may throw some light on these reflections of Jaffray.

"The state of religion in Scotland, during the ten years preceding the English invasion, and the rule of the Commonwealth afterwards, has been much misunderstood. The zealous friends of Presbyterian discipline, have represented the period from 1638 to 1649, as the golden age of religion in Scotland, and the following years, as exhibiting a lamentable falling off. And indeed, if true religion consists in the regular meeting of church courts, and the overwhelming power of ecclesiastical rulers, the former period

would be very distinguished. But, if much of the form may exist without the power of religion, we shall be cautious how we judge of the state of religion from the proceedings of Assemblies. That there were then many excellent men in the Church is beyond dispute; but that not a few of the clergy were destitute of genuine piety, and that a vast majority of the people were in no better state, are equally unquestionable. The Assemblies were exceedingly zealous in putting down Episcopacy, in establishing uniformity, and in passing persecuting laws; but had much less of the Spirit of Christ than their office required. The English army and ministers had but a low opinion of the state of religion, on their coming into Scotland."—This view of the subject seems to be confirmed by the succeeding passage from Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times. Speaking of the Covenanters, he says, "Then they took up the name of *Malignants*, by which all who differed from them were distinguished: but the strictness of piety and good life, which had gained them so much reputation before the war, began to wear off; and instead of that, a fierceness of temper, and a copiousness of many long sermons and much longer prayers, came to be the distinction of the party. This they carried even to the saying of grace before and after meat, sometimes to the length of a whole hour. But as every new war broke out, there was a visible abatement of even the outward show of piety." vol. i. p. 47.

"It does not appear," continues Orme, "that the influence of the English army, and of Cromwell's government, was unfavourable to the state of religion in Scotland. On the contrary, there is reason to believe, that true religion was, during this period, in rather a prosperous state. It is true, Cromwell put down the Assemblies, and curbed the spirit of interference with politics, which then so much prevailed among the ministers. But he interfered with none of the other rights of the Church, and encouraged the profession of the gospel in all ranks. 'I remember well,' says Bishop Burnet, 'three regiments coming to Aberdeen. There was an order and discipline, and a face of gravity and piety among them, that amazed all people. Most of them were Independents and Anabaptists: they were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved.'"——"But the strongest testimony to the prosperous condition of religion in Scotland, is from the pen of Mr. James Kirkton, afterwards one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who from his opportunities was well able to judge, and, from his sentiments as a Presbyterian, unlikely to overrate

the salutary influence of the measures of the Commonwealth. 'They did indeed,' he says, 'proclaim a sort of toleration to dissenters among Protestants, but permitted the gospel to have its course, and presbyteries and synods to continue in the exercise of their powers; and all the time of their government, the gospel prospered not a little, *but mightily.*——At the King's return, every parish had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a Bible; yea, in most of the country, all the children could read the Scriptures, and were provided with Bibles, either by their parents or their ministers.' History of the Church of Scotland, p. 54, &c."

Note T.—Page 46.

At page 38, we have seen that Jaffray, in his intercourse with Cromwell, and with that party who were then generally termed "Sectaries," had his mind much cleared upon the subject of *the due limits of the magistrate's power in matters of religion;* that he saw into the error and guiltiness, as he describes it, of the good men of his own nation, in their carrying forward what they called the work of God and of reformation—"whereon," says he, "*much hath been well expressed by many good men;*" and further, that he was led onward, to institute a close impartial search into the scriptural constitution and government of churches. There is strong ground for the assumption,—although, from the sparing detail of matter of fact in the Diary, it cannot be ascertained,—that our earnest, yet discriminating inquirer, while thus engaged, had met with *William Dell.* This individual, as an author, had then recently put forth several very prominent treatises in illustration or in vindication of gospel liberty; while, as a popular preacher and chaplain to General Fairfax, his close attendance at the headquarters of the same army which Cromwell now commanded, gave him great opportunity of propagating those views of religious toleration, for which he was so deservedly noted. Indeed, Dell may fairly be regarded, to use the words of Crosby in his History of the Baptists, as one of the heads or champions of that party in the nation, who were opposed to persecution; and appeared among the most forward in promoting a reformation in religion, beyond what many were prepared for. Among his various pamphlets upon these favourite topics, and which are collected into 2 vols. 8vo. in the edition of 1817, there is one entitled "The Way of true Peace and Unity in the true Church of Christ," &c. from which the Editor thinks proper to quote a passage, presenting remarkably

close analogy to that peculiar train of conclusion, taken up by Jaffray in the foregoing paragraph now under notice.

While upon the subject of the government of the church, after quoting that text of the Apostle, Eph. v. 32, "This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the church," Dell thus proceeds—"And as the Lord, *in the former age*, hath been pleased to reveal to the church the mystery of the HEAD, after a long time of its obscuring and darkening under the reign of antichrist; *so now, we wait in hope, that he will, in this present age, reveal the mystery of the* BODY, which hath been no less obscured than the former; that so the whole mystery of whole Christ, may both be known and accomplished among us, according to the riches of his glory by the gospel."—"The constitution of the church," says a more modern writer, "was among the last subjects the Reformers were likely to study, and, from their peculiar circumstances, the one they were most likely to misunderstand. Believing, as they did, that Christianity could scarcely exist without state-patronage, and that conscience was the subject of human legislation, the simple form of Independency was not likely to occur to them; or, if it did occur, would be speedily rejected as unsuitable to the state of the church, and of the world." Orme's Life of Owen, p. 65.

The Editor is unwilling to pass away from William Dell, without recommending him, as an author of remarkably spiritual cast, to the particular notice of the Society of Friends; many of whom are acquainted with *some of his Works*, so nearly congenial with their own views. Nor will Christians of other denominations be disappointed of instruction and comfort from the perusal, in proportion as they look beyond men, to the essential teachings of the grace of Jesus.

NOTE U.—Page 48.

Allusion has several times been made in these Notes to the Independents. "The distinguishing principle of Independency," says a late valuable member of that body, "may be expressed in a single sentence; namely, That a church of Christ is a voluntary society of Christians, regularly assembling in one place, and with its officers possessing the full power of government, worship, and discipline in itself." Orme's Life of Owen, p. 63. In the appendix to the same volume, there is a note upon the early state of Independency in Scotland. After some recital of the rise of that community, under the designation of Brownism, from one Brown,

who came out of the Low Countries to Edinburgh with a number of adherents; this author goes on to quote a passage from Spalding's History of the Troubles, p. 303, much to our purpose. "About this time, September, 1642, there came in quietly to Aberdeen, one called Othro Ferrendail, an Irishman, and a skinner to his calling, favoured by Mr. Andrew Cant, and by his moyan admitted freeman. He was trapped for preaching on the night in some houses in the town before their families, with close doors, nocturnal doctrine or Brownism, as was said." "Mr. Cant," continues Orme, "was more favourable to innovation than some of his brethren." This is the first notice we have of Independency in Aberdeen, towards which our Diarist would now be considered as fast verging. Indeed, it appears as if either this Ferrendail, or one of his family, like Jaffray, found no rest *there* for his mind, but passed *onward* to the principles of the Friends; for, one of that name became a member, and sufferer for conscience-sake in the Society, as will be seen in the succeeding part of this volume. "In the provincial assembly at Aberdeen, 1642," Orme preceeds to remark, "there was," quoting Spalding, "'great business about Brownism, lately crept into Aberdeen and other parts.'" At length, it appears, "the General Assembly of 1647, passed an act, prohibiting the importation of all books and pamphlets containing Independency and Anabaptism, and forbidding reading the same; *or harbouring any persons infected with such errors.* Presbyteries and synods are enjoined to process such as shall offend against these injunctions; and civil magistrates are recommended to aid and assist ministers in every thing to that effect. Acts of Assemblies from 1638 to 1649, printed at Edinb. 1682.—These were the blessed days of Presbyterian supremacy; and such was the use which they made of their power. The English army entering Scotland soon after this, prevented the execution of this unjust law, and imported Independency in such a way as could not be resisted." It is to such measures and laws as these, that Jaffray, doubtless, has reference in the paragraphs now under notice; and, in tracing the progress of his mind hitherto, his *objections* to the Presbyterian body may be pretty much comprehended in *the heads of a Declaration,* presented by the English Commissioners to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in the month called July, 1652, which is very near to the date of these his observations in the Diary. It is entitled, "A Declaration in favour of *Congregational Discipline, Purity of Communion, and Toleration.*"

Note V.—Page 50.

In Row's Supplement to Blair's Life, we have the following account of this conference.—"In September, Mris Samuel Rutherfoord, James Guthrie, Pat. Gillespie, and Jhone Carstaires wentt to Aberdeen, to conferre with these who had declared themsellffes for separatione. But Mr. Jhone Menzies, who was thair ringeleader, and the greatest disputantt amonge them, beinge sick, they could doe the less; notwithstanding, for the space of six dayes, they conferred and debaitted with ane other two ministeris and sume regenttis in the college, in the hearing of many that hankered after that way. Alexander Jafray, leate provost of Aberdeen, was much for separatione: ther was sume also ther that was aganest infantt baptisme and wer in danger to be tainted with other errores." p. 106.—In the *Woodrow MSS.*, already referred to in a previous note, quarto, volume 29, No. 61, *Gilespie's* return home to Glasgow from Aberdeen is noticed, whither he had gone *to endeavour to keep or recover some there:* No. 63, is from a number of Protesting ministers in the south or west, to some in hazard of Independency; the scope of which, no doubt, is, as Jaffray expresses it, *to persuade them from falling on any such dividing way.*

Note W.—Page 51.

In Nicoll's MS. Diary, before cited, under date "May 8—18, 1652," a list of public functionaries is given, on the English Judges sitting down; and among these, is the name of "Provest Jaffray, keipar of the great seall——and Director of the Chancellarie, &c." A similar notice occurs in the same MS., at the end of the year 1657, in enumerating the officers of state for Scotland; the writer adds, "But the keipar of the great seall wes my Lord Desburrow."—With regard to this high appointment, which under Cromwell's government Jaffray was called to fill, the Editor is able but barely to supply that kind of information which he could have wished had been explained by our Diarist himself, in connexion with his own incidental observations on the office. We are thus deprived of that which might possibly have thrown light upon his line of public action in those peculiar times. The office of Director of the Chancellry or Chancellary, was in some respects similar to that of Lord Chancellor in England,—supreme Head of the Court of Chancery; but it has no judicial functions, and is at present, as the Editor understands, a place of honour more than of business.

By favour of Richard Jaffray of London, the present hereditary descendant of the Jaffray family, the following copy of the *original instrument* is subjoined, conveying, under *the great seal of the Commonwealth*, the above-mentioned office of Director of the Chancellary to Alexander Jaffray.

"Oliver, by the grace of God, Lord Protector of the Comonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and dominiones therto belonging, To all men to whose knowledge these presents shall come, greetting:

"That, forasmuch as wee, by oure letters of gift, suprascryved with oure hand, of the date at Whithall, the second day of March, one thousand sex hundreth and fiftie sex yeirs, nominated and appoynted oure loved Alexander Jaffray esquyre to the office of Director of oure Chancellarie in Scotland; which office the said Alexander Jaffray is to hold and exercise by himselff or such deputie or deputies as shall be allowed of by oure Councill in Scotland, so long as he shall therin well and faithfullie demaine himselff. And oure will and pleasure wes, that the yeirlie salarie of twa hundreth pounds, usuall money of England, be allowed to the said Alexander Jaffray, for the executione of the said office, and oure Councill of Scotland to give order for payment therof accordinglie. And wee did therby ordaine the Commissioners of exchequere to extend, ... , and cause the said gift or nominatione to be past oure great seale of Scotland, in due and competent forme. And oure forsaid nominatione and inrolement in our buikes of exchequere should be to oure said Commissioners ane sufficient warrand in that behalff.

"Therefore wee, with advyce and consent of the Commissioners of oure said exchequere, have given, granted, and disponed, lyke as wee be the tenour heerof give, grant, and dispone to the said Alexander Jaffray esquyre, so long as he shall therin well and faithfullie demain himselff, the said office of Director of oure Chancellarie, and of the custodie of the testimoniall of oure great seall, then vacand, in oure hands, and oure gift and dispositione. With full power to the said Alexander Jaffray esquyre, during the tyme of his said office, he himselff or his deputies, for whome he is to be answerable, of useing, exerciseing, and enjoying of the forsaid office as freelie, in all respects, as any Director of the Chancellarie at any tyme bygone used or enjoyed the samyne, with all honours, priviledges, dignities, and immunities whatsomever, which any of his predecessors, Directors of the Chancellarie, enjoyed or possessed at any time bygone, with the said fee of twa

hundreth pounds, money of England, which the said Alexander Jaffray for the present possesseth.

"In testimonie whereoff wee have append oure great seale to thir presents. At Edinburgh, the twentie day of November, the yeir of oure Lord one thousand sex hundreth and fiftie seven yeires.

"By warrand signed be the Commissioners of the exchequere."

[Endorsement] "Presented and sealed at Edinburgh the 27th of November, 1657.

" . . . . . Abernethie

"Johesone dept."

Alexander Brodie's name has already appeared in a preceding page, as one of the Commissioners to treat with the King at Breda. He had been one of the Lords or Judges in the Court of Session in 1650, as he afterward was in 1658. About the same time that Jaffray was called by the Judges to the Directorship of the Chancery, Brodie, in his Diary, has the following memoranda. After numerous references on toleration, church government, admission to ordinances, &c., as if he had been discussing these subjects with persons not named:—"21st June, 1652. Memorandum with Mr. Jaffray—1st. To consider my last letter, and correct an expression in it anent church members, their qualification, and restrict it to admission to the sacraments.—2nd. To see how far he agrees with me in these things I write of.—3rd. To show that, since my last, my mind is much alienated with General Dean's discourse; therefore; to inquire, how can we consent or submit to rulers of such principles?—4th. To ask anent the General Assembly and others.—5th. What overtures of peace or agreement are fallen upon for those in the west, and others, with the English and among ourselves?—6th, To consider their paper and propositions, how far we agree and can close.—7th. What way they settle the government, seals, and justice? The feudary elections in burgh and shire?—8th. Walter Cochrane.—9th. The money which we rest to the men of Campoore, how to be relieved.—To see the Acts, and borrow the book."

There is another set of memoranda bearing the same date, which though it has still less relation to the former subject of this Note, cannot so well be inserted in another place as in the present. It proves the respect in which Jaffray's sentiments were held by this estimable Judge.—"1st. What he takes to be the causes of the Lord's departure?—2nd. What he takes to be the present signs o it?—3rd. What is the incumbent and the special duty of the

time, beside seeking of Him; and what neglected duty is he calling us unto?—4th. What corruptions in worship and ordinances does he observe?—5th. What takes he to be the causes of the bitter differences and divisions which are springing up among the godly in the land, nay, in both the lands?" p. 26.—The "Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie Esq." was printed in 1740, at Edinburgh; it consists of 148 pages octavo, and extends only from 1652 to 1653-4; so that we are deprived of his sentiments connected with that important engagement upon which he was united with his friend Jaffray,—the Commission to treat with the King at Breda.

Note X.—Page 52.

It is far from the design of the Author of these historical illustrations, very minutely to enter into the political circumstances of the times in which Jaffray lived. Rather than this, he would prefer a close adherence to the example so uniformly set in the Diary, of passing slightly over matters of this nature. A middle course, however, will better comport with the views of the Writer, and with those claims which his readers may justly have upon him. He will therefore produce a few authorities, which advert in particular to the constitution, and to some of the transactions of this singular legislative body, usually termed the Little Parliament, of which we find Jaffray to have been chosen a member.

"Though historians differ so much in their characters of this assembly," as the authors of the *Parliamentary History of England* observe, "yet they all seem to agree, in passing over their proceedings with the most affected neglect; they do little more than mention their coming together, and their dissolution." Vol. xx. p. 180. With the view of shunning so exceptionable a course, these associated writers, with every appearance of candour and discrimination, go into the investigation of the subject, devoting to it out of their twenty-four octavo volumes above fifty pages. "We are very far," they continue, "from entering into a vindication of this unconstitutional assembly. It is certain, that the manner of their being convened, in obedience to Cromwell's *warrant of nomination*, was the most flagrant instance of invasion upon the rights and liberties of all the electors of the three nations, our whole history affords; and was absolutely subversive of the very being of parliaments. But whether they deserve all that ignominy, which has been cast upon them, by the cotemporary historians we have cited in our account of their transactions, and some modern

writers who have implicitly copied them, will best appear, by the laws they made, and the bills they were employed about, at the time of their dissolution."

The *warrant of nomination* is now to be given, in submission to which, our worthy Author became involved in so high responsibility: it is inserted in "Cromwelliana," p. 125.

"A copy of the Letter of his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, sent to the members called to take upon them the trust of the government of this Commonwealth.

"Forasmuch as upon the dissolution of the late Parliament, it became necessary, that the peace, safety, and good government of this commonwealth, should be provided for; and in order thereunto, divers persons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, are by myself, with the advice of my Councel of officers, nominated, to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed. And having good assurance of your love to, and courage for God, and the interest of his cause, and of the good people of this Commonwealth:

"I, Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and commander in chief of all the armies, and forces raised and to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you, (being one of the persons nominated,) presently to be and appear at the Councel Chamber, commonly called or known by the name of the Councel Chamber at Whitehall, within the city of Westminster, upon the 4th day of July, next ensuing the date hereof; then and there to take upon you the said trust, unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a member for the county of ———————. And hereof you are not to fail.

"Oliver Cromwell."

"Given under my hand and seal,

"The — day of June, 1653."

By virtue of this instrument was a House of Commons convened, and agreeable to the tenour of it, Lingard in his History of England, asserts, that the chief qualification of the members was to consist in holiness of life. He proceeds to state, vol. vii. p. 142, that, "With this view, the ministers took the sense of the *congregational churches* in the several counties; the returns contained the names of the persons, *faithful, fearing God, and hating covetousness,* who were deemed qualified for this high and important trust; and out of this, the Council, in the presence of the Lord General, selected 139 representatives for England, 6 for Wales,

6 for Ireland, and 4 for Scotland." He speaks of them as being men of independent fortunes; whilst Ludlow had expressly said, that this assembly was composed for the most part of honest and well-meaning persons. But Godwin, in the History of the Commonwealth, goes further, and affirms, they included in their numbers "some of the most eminent and respectable persons in the community," adding the remark of Whitelock, that, "It was much wondered at by some, that these gentlemen, many of them being persons of fortune and knowledge, would, at this summons, and from these hands, take upon them the supreme authority of the nation."

Having thus touched upon the general character given of this legislative body by some writers of respectability; it may be now observed, that though Jaffray has left us no account of his motives for compliance with the requisition thus put upon him, he was, doubtless, influenced by a consideration of the peculiar position of public affairs at that crisis, and by a hope that some opening might follow for measures productive of good to his country. His colleagues chosen for Scotland, according to *Nicoll*, by the English Council of State, were, "the Laird Brodie," who has been mentioned in the preceding Note; "Sir James Hope," styled "the Laird of Hopetoun;" Colonel Lockhart of Ley; and "the Laird Swintoune," respecting whom some further account will appear in ensuing pages. Several of these stood as Lords or Judges in the Court of Session. Alexander Brodie, the first named, in his private Diary, under the date of "the 17th June," alludes to the receipt of Cromwell's "letter, or rather citation and summons to come to London," and on the 10th of the next month, he writes, "I spread *Mr. Jaffray's letter* before the Lord, and found it could not stand with former resolutions. I am not the man which others vainly imagine me to be; nay, nor indeed come I up to my profession.—If the Lord would uphold my soul," continues he, "[I] would rather choose to suffer at the hands of men, than to fall into the snare and temptation of public employments.—26th. I got the provost's letter, showing, they collected from my letter, that I would come and take employment. This did humble, and my soul desired to be cast down under it. I got Warristoun's letter and papers against it: these I spread before the Lord, and besought him through the Lord Jesus, on whose name I believed, for direction, light, strength, stability, and counsel.—27th July, I wrote back to the provost, and with all the fervency of my heart I assured him, I would not take any employment on me; and that I laid aside all thoughts of coming to London; and I resolved on

all hazards that could befall me, ere I ran myself on that rock.—13th August, I received another letter from provost Jaffray, desiring me to come up.—16th September, I received letters from London, and from the Earl of Cassils." p. 70—105.—Thus it would seem, that Jaffray at length succeeded in prevailing with his friend: and without hesitation, it may be assumed, judging from what is already seen of his character, that he had a high sense of the duty imposed upon him, and of the benefits which might result from fulfilling it, or he would not have thus urgently and repeatedly pressed the matter, against the apparently conscientious objections of Brodie.

With regard to the proceedings of this Parliament, Lingard, in the following terms, conveys a summary of particulars, which tend to place these legislators in no contemptible light: "They established a system of the most rigid economy; the regulations of the excise were revised; the constitution of the treasury was simplified and improved; unnecessary offices were totally abolished, and the salaries of the others considerably reduced; the public accounts were subjected to the most rigorous scrutiny." He further informs us, the Court of Chancery was to be remodelled or abolished, the punishment of death for theft was not to be tolerated, tithes were to be done away, and the choice and maintenance of the minister to be vested in the body of the parishioners." p. 152. Thus much is at least due, in explanation of Jaffray's laconic expressions, "It was on the hearts of some there, to have done good for promoting the kingdom of Christ."—Among the numerous Committees appointed for these and other purposes, are specified in the Parliamentary History the following: For trade and corporations—for receiving proposals for the advancement of the Commonwealth—for the poor—for inquiring into the revenues of hospitals—for regulating the commissions of the peace throughout the nation—for public debts—for receiving accusations of bribery, public frauds, and breach of public trust—also for the advancement of learning—for removing all laws and ordinances which are hindrances to the progress of the gospel,—besides others. In a tract, preserved in the Library of the British Museum, entitled, "True manner of the sitting of the Parliament, &c. August, 1653," Jaffray's name appears on a Committee "for the affairs of Scotland," on that for tithes, for the business of trade, for corporations, and for receiving propositions for the advancement of the Commonwealth. With regard to the first of these, it is to be understood, that the most important, and perhaps main

business devolving on that Committee, was, *the settlement of an union, then attempted, between England and Scotland:*—Cromwell's name, of course, stands foremost upon it. This is evident from Lamont's Diary, p. 68.—"1653, June 24th. The Commissioners for Scotland being called for by Generall Cromuell and his councell of officers, to treate about ane union of thir nations, went for England att this time." Nor must a remark of Godwin's, in his History of the Commonwealth, be here omitted. vol. iii. p. 568. "The Parliament also applied itself with diligence to the bill of union with Scotland, and made several important and useful regulations relative to that country. But its sittings were finally terminated, without bringing the bill of union to a close."

The dissolution of this Parliament is thus given by the last-mentioned author, vol. iii. p. 588.—Col. Sydenham moved the dissolution of the assembly. Upon this question there ensued a debate. "The debate promised to be of considerable duration. Every instant the house increased by the resort of members. This did not suit the views of Cromwell's followers, who began to fear that the motion might be carried against them. They therefore devised a new and irregular expedient, suited to the emergency. Rous, the speaker, was on their side of the question. Suddenly he rose, and left the chair. The sergeant took up the mace, and carried it before him, as he quitted the hall; and as many members as were favourable to the motion, followed him, and immediately repaired to Whitehall, to demand admission to Cromwell. There appears to have been about 70 members present in the house; and when Rous and his supporters were gone, there remained 34 or 35. This secession, however, immediately put an end to their business. They had no speaker; and the numbers that remained did not constitute a quorum, which, by the rules of the house, must consist of not fewer than 40. They continued in consultation as to what was to be done. Presently, however, two officers, Colonel Goffe and Major White, came in and entreated them to withdraw. This they refused to do, but upon compulsion. Accordingly, a file of musketeers was introduced; the house was cleared, and the doors closed."—So far, in amplification of the words of Jaffray, "When that Parliament was broken up, I, not being satisfied with the reasons thereof, was one of 30 or 31 that staid in the house." Godwin's closing character of it, cannot properly be withheld, as given at p. 578 of the above cited volume of his History, after which this subject

will be disposed of:—"There was much of public virtue in this assembly; they possessed no common portion of that wisdom and penetration into the spirit and consequences of social institutions, which might seem to qualify them to secure essential benefits to that age, and to ages which should succeed."

The curious circumstance, which in the Diary of Alexander Jaffray stands closely appended to the foregoing; namely, that of Cromwell's offer to make him a judge for Scotland, will, doubtless, be fresh in the recollection of the reader: this evidently took place very shortly after his release from the senatorial office, while yet he remained in London. A similar instance occurred in the case of Bishop Burnet's father; which also strongly illustrates the independent line of conduct adopted by Cromwell, in the choice he made of officers for high, responsible stations. The Bishop says, "He studied to seek out able and honest men, and to employ them: and so, having heard that my father had a very great reputation in Scotland for piety and integrity, though he knew him to be a royalist, he sent to him, desiring him to accept of a judge's place, and to do justice in his own country, hoping only that he would not act against his government; but he would not press him to subscribe or swear any thing. My father refused it in a pleasant way."

On Jaffray's return home from London, within this same year, Nicoll's Diary notices his name on a list of those persons, appointed "for the provinces benorth Angus," "for the approval of ministers newly ordained," in accordance with "an ordinance brought down from the Protector by Patrick Gillespie." This was, doubtless, a similar appointment to that in England, of Commissioners for *ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers*, which took place about the same time. Their business was, to inquire particularly "into the grace of God in the candidate, his holy and unblameable conversation; also into his knowledge and utterance, and fitness to preach the gospel." With regard to Jaffray's acceptance of such a post, arbitrary, objectionable, and difficult as it must have been, we may fairly conclude, from what is known of his character and sentiments at this period, that, so far as he was concerned as an individual among his colleagues in office, it was his desire and aim to benefit the interests of solid piety and Christian faith. Baxter, while by no means favourable to the commission, speaks in general terms thus favourably of the results of their proceedings. "They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers——that sort of ministers,

that either preached against a holy life, or preached as men that never were acquainted with it:—all those who used the ministry as a common trade to live by, and were never likely to convert a soul:—all these they usually rejected, and in their stead admitted any that were able, serious preachers, and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were."

Note Y.—Page 54.

The reader will probably have remarked, that the preceding portion of the narrative is by no means, correctly speaking, a *Diary;* the actual period of its production, as before hinted, being presumed to be about the latter end of the year 1656. The comprehensive review and acknowledgment of past mercies, which now follows, on the writer's settlement near Edinburgh, together with his more diffuse meditations "On being exercised in bearing the cross," appear to wind up the *retrospective* part of the narrative to a close. After this, at the date, "10th of April, 1657," page 64, proceeds the Diary, *as a diary*, in its more appropriate form, *each observation bearing the date of insertion.*

Note Z.—Page 59.

A passage remarkably similar to this, occurs in Archbishop Leighton's Commentary upon the First Epistle of Peter. Speaking on the words, ch. v. ver. 1. "Who am also an elder, *and a witness of the sufferings of Christ*," that *wonderful* man, as Doddridge deliberately styles him, proceeds to show, that a *spiritual view* of Christ crucified, is certainly very requisite for the *due witnessing of him*, and displaying the excellency and virtue of his sufferings. "Men," continues he, "commonly read and hear, and may possibly preach, of the sufferings of Christ as a common story; and that way, it may a little move a man, and wring tears from his eyes: but faith hath *another kind of sight of them*, and so works other kind of affections,—and without *that*, the very *eyesight of them* availed the apostles nothing: for how many saw him suffer as they did, who reviled, or at least despised him. But, *by the eye of faith* to see the only begotten Son of God, as stricken and smitten of God, wounded for our transgressions, &c.—*this is the thing*, that will bind upon us most strongly all the duties of Christianity, &c."

In the succeeding Note, the reader will find some observations relative to Leighton, tending to throw light upon that coincidence, which is occasionally to be discerned between the sentiments of this author and our worthy Diarist.

Note AA.—Page 75.

"*There is a noble guest within us*—Oh! let all our business be, to *entertain him honourably*, and to live in celestial love *within*;—that will make all things *without* be very contemptible in our eyes."—This almost parallel passage, is taken from a letter of Archbishop Leighton's, published in his *Whole Works*, Lond. edit. 1818. There are parts of Jaffray's Diary, and this whole paragraph is one, which, both in turn of thought and of expression, bear a vivid resemblance to this eminent Christian author. It cannot be now ascertained, that there existed between them any actual intimacy or even acquaintance, though this may very probably have been the case. It appears that Leighton was the appointed minister of Newbattle, near Edinburgh, until the year 1653; when he resigned that charge, and was chosen Principal of the University of Edinburgh, which office he filled for about nine years. Jaffray, on the other hand, as we have seen, resided at or near that city for six months together out of the twelve; from 1654 to 1656; after which, that is, at the date of this part of the Diary, he made Newbattle itself his more permanent abode. The high public stations held by each, their reputation for an undisguised and unselfish regard to the interests of genuine piety, their mutual abhorrence of those animosities, which led many of the professors of that day to "bite and devour one another," might have occasionally thrown in contact these worthies. And yet, with that lowly, retiring habit of soul which characterised them both, and differing from each other on many important questions which then agitated the most religiously disposed, it is still matter of doubt, whether Jaffray had any intercourse with Leighton, so as to derive light or comfort through his means. We may, however, rest satisfied with the conclusion, that though they saw not in all things "eye to eye," yet, in regard to much essential experience, they were learning in the same school, endeavouring to "walk by the same rule," and to "mind the same thing," even "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus." To perceive in any striking degree this assimilation and accordance, as in the quotation which has now been brought forward, must be cordial to every lover of the Church universal. Such instances are cheering, amidst much that still continues to sever and to scatter those, who desire to love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity;—they are symptoms of that harmonizing oneness, which it was the blessed will of the Father should subsist among believers, which the Son

himself interceded for, and which his Holy Spirit is fully able to bring about.

Note BB.—Page 85.

Jaffray seems to have imbibed such a sentiment as this, much earlier in his religious progress, than many who have made an eminent profession of Christian experience. The Editor is pleased to be able to notice the similarity of view taken by a well-known writer cotemporary with our Diarist.

In a summary review of Richard Baxter's matured experience in regard to religion, taken by himself towards the latter part of his life, in which much enlargement of view and abasement of self is discovered, we have the following sentence.—"I less admire *gifts of utterance,* and the bare profession of religion than I once did; and have much more charity for many, who by the want of gifts do make an obscurer profession. I once thought, that almost all who could *pray movingly and fluently, and talk well of religion,* had been saints. But experience hath opened to me, what odious crimes may consist with high profession. While I have met with divers obscure persons, not noted for any extraordinary profession or forwardness in religion, but only to live a quiet, blameless life, whom I have after found to have long lived, as far as I could discern, a truly godly and sanctified life———."

Note CC.—Page 86.

It would seem, by this paragraph, as if Alexander Jaffray's opinion *then* was, that a believer could not, by grace, through watchfulness, *escape being actually polluted by sin,*—that he *must* carry about with him "a body of sin and death." With regard to the text here quoted, the Apostle's answer seems to follow his own query, "I thank God," or, as some render it, (and Archdeacon Paley in one of his Sermons inclines to this translation,) "*The grace of God* through Jesus Christ our Lord." No doubt, Jaffray came to see, and unite in belief with his fellow-countryman, cotemporary, and friend, Robert Barclay, that Paul here speaks, *not of his own condition at the time,* but rather was personating that of one, not yet fully arrived at an established estate; especially, as in verse 14 he says, "But *I am carnal,*" &c., and yet in chap. viii. verse 2, he avers, that the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus *had made him free from the law of sin and death.* A similar mode of speech, the Apostle James uses, chap. iii. verses 9, 10.

Note DD.—Page 89.

At the latter end of this paragraph, as also at p. 69, Alexander Jaffray makes allusion to a part of that very memorable and excellent prayer, which the Lord Jesus was pleased, in condescension to the request of his disciples, to give forth *as a model* for the utterance of their inward exercises towards God. Whatever might, at this time, have been the sentiment of our Author, *with regard to the duty of using daily this precise form of words in prayer*, it is evident he supposed our blessed Saviour commanded *a daily recurrence to one subject of petition*,—namely, the coming of the kingdom of God. In justice, however, to those views which he subsequently adopted, it seems needful to revive the language of his friend, Robert Barclay, on this express subject.—"We find, that Jesus Christ, the author of the Christian religion, prescribes *no set form of worship to his children*, under the more pure administration of the new covenant; save that he only tells them, that the worship now to be performed, is *spiritual*, and *in the Spirit*. And it is especially to be observed, that, in the whole New Testament, there is no order nor command given in this thing, but to follow the revelations of the Spirit,—save only, that general [one,] of meeting together,—a thing dearly owned, and diligently practised by us. True it is, mention is made of the duties of praying, preaching, and singing; but what order or method should be kept in so doing, or that presently they should be set about, so soon as the saints are gathered,—there is not one word to be found: yea, these duties are always annexed to the assistance, leadings, and motions of God's Spirit." Then, in a note, he subjoins—"If any object here, *That the Lord's prayer is a prescribed form of prayer, and therefore of worship, given by Christ to his children*:—I answer; First, This cannot be objected by any sort of Christians that I know; because, there are none who use not *other prayers*, or that limit their worship to *this*. Secondly, This was commanded to the disciples, while yet weak, before they had received the dispensation of the gospel; *not that they should only use it in praying*, but that he might show them by one example, how that their prayers ought to be short, and not like the long prayers of the Pharisees. And that this was the use of it, appears by all the prayers, which divers saints afterward made use of, whereof the Scripture makes mention: for *none* made use of *this*, neither repeated it; but used other words, according as the thing required, and as the Spirit gave utterance. Thirdly, That this ought so to

be understood, appears from Rom. viii. 26, where the Apostle saith, 'We know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us,' &c. But if *this* prayer had been such a prescribed form of prayer to the church, *that* had not been true; neither had they been ignorant what to pray, nor should they have needed the help of the Spirit to teach them." Apology, Prop. xi. sect. 10.

Note EE.—Page 104.

Andrew Cant, the father-in-law of Alexander Jaffray, whose name has already occurred in the Diary, particularly at pages 26 and 29, was minister at Newbattle, near Edinburgh; but in 1640, becoming an appointed minister at Aberdeen, he removed thither. When Prelacy was introduced at the Restoration, he came again to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, his son Andrew being then the officiating minister at Libberton, close to the city. They were both, according to Cruickshank, vol. i. p. 148, summoned to appear before the King's Council in 1662, in common with their brethren of the same persuasion; but it does not appear that they suffered; on the contrary, the son conformed to Prelacy. In Row's Supplement to Blair's Life, Andrew Cant is described as "very fordward and zealous, being of a firrie temper;" which agrees with the account here given of him.

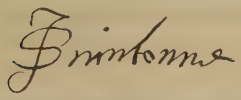
Note FF.—Page 114.

Caskieben is repeatedly mentioned in the "Retours," as being Alexander Jaffray's property. He probably refers to some lawsuit respecting it, or to the sale of it; for, in the Records of the Scottish Parliament in the year 1669, is a charter of the crown, granted to "Sir James Keith, of Keith Hall," (ancestor of the present Earl of Kintore, who lives at Keith Hall,) "of the lands and barony of Caskieben, lying in the parish of Keith Hall."—Kinmuck, where the Society of Friends still have a meeting-house, is in that parish, and very near the Earl of Kintore's residence.

Note GG.—Page 119.

"Dr. Thomas Goodwin, whom Wood, in the *Athenæ Oxonienses* denominates, 'one of the *atlasses* and patriarchs of Independency,' was President of Magdalen College, Oxford." He is represented, in the Memoirs of the Life of Owen, "as rather too high a Calvinist, but distinguished for his piety, learning, and industry; as the five folio volumes of his posthumous works bear ample testimony." p. 175.

Note HH.—Page 122.



The name of Swintoune, a fac-simile of whose signature is here given, has already been introduced in a preceding Note, as one of the representatives for Scotland to Cromwell's Little Parliament. Although the present is the only place in the Diary where he is spoken of,—and here but briefly,—there is reason to believe he was intimately acquainted with its Author. He became, like his friend Jaffray, early and firmly associated in fellowship with the despised "Quakers;" and accordingly there will be found, in the succeeding division of this Work, a few additional particulars respecting him, as standing in that character. On these accounts, it may not be irrelevant here to bring together some very imperfect notices of him, extending to the period when he joined the Society of Friends, and chiefly taken from writers of that day.

The *Biographia Brittanica* describes Swintoune "as of a very good family;" and that he "had as good education as almost any man in Scotland, which joined to very strong natural parts, rendered him a most accomplished person." But little has been met with concerning him, previous to the coming of Cromwell's army into Scotland. Before that period, however, he stood member of the Scottish Parliament for the county of Berwick or the Merse, in which the family estates lay; and according to Balfour's Annals, he voted, in the Committee of Estates, against the sending Commissioners to Breda to treat with Charles the 2nd, as well as "against a levie, when as the Parliament was informed certainly, that Cromwell and a strong army of Sectaries were marching down to invade the kingdom." p. 80. Independent of political views, it seems clear, that Swintoune gradually became dissatisfied with the principles and proceedings of the Presbyterian body in his own country. Lamont speaks of him, as "one formerlie cryed up for his pietie;" and that he "went in to the English army, whille they lay att Edenbroughe." Diary or Chronicle of Fife, p. 32. The testimony in Row's Supplement to Blair's Life, is similar, with regard to the time and manner of his acting, and evidently marks him out as among the "few formerlie accompted pious and gracious men," who, he says, *had deserted the cause of Presbytery* as

well as that of monarchy. "Some officers, shortelie after Dunbar fight," Row observes, "having layed doune thair charges and gone in to the enemie, (especialy the yonge lairde of Swintowne, who, befor the invasione, was suspected to favoure the enemie and some sectarian errouris,)—" p. 88. He was excommunicated in 1651, as the same MS. sets forth, by the Commission of the General Assembly at Perth; but afterwards, in 1656, Nicoll's Diary relates, he "was relaxed from that sentence of excommunication," "without personal compearance"—for what reason, is not specified; although,—from a controversial pamphlet afterwards published, with the title, *Some Sober Animadversions, &c.*—this seems to have taken place "without his desiring any such thing."

During the Commonwealth, Swintoune several times served in the Scottish Parliament, was one of the Lords or Judges of the Court of Sessions, and a member of the Council of State for the government of Scotland. Nicoll again speaks of him in 1658, as signing the proclamation of Richard Cromwell at Edinburgh, on the death of Oliver; and shortly afterward, as being chosen member to Richard's Parliament. He joined in a petition to that body, "with the other deputies then in London, who in 1652 consented to the union of Scotland with England," "for perfecting that union." The following are the next passages in Nicoll's Diary relating to him. "Judge Swynton also, being repute to haif secreit correspondence with this Lord Lambert, wes takin notice of heir in Scotland, apprehendit and secured in the citidaill of Leith, upone the 16th day of January, 1660." "July 20th, Lord Swynton wes takin in King Street, out of his bed, in a Quakeris hous, and wes brocht to Quhytehall, and yairefter sent fettered to ye prissone of Gaithous, quhair the theves and robberis ar imprissoned." "December, 21st. As for ye Lord Swynton, he wes also transportit to Scotland, and in yeself schip with ye Marques of Ergyll; and went alongis with him throw Edinburgh, being ane persone feir falt and excommunicat. The Marques wes tenderlie convoyit betwix twa bailleis of Edinburgh; bot Swynton by ye town officeris, invironed with thousandis of pepill, men and wemen, being ane fanatick persone and ane Quaker, and wes committit to clos prissone within ye Tolbuith of Edinburgh." These circumstances are also related in Baillie's Letters and Journals, and in Woodrow's History, but with less of descriptive point. Bishop Burnet gives the issue of his trial:—— "Swinton had been attainted in the Parliament at Stirling, for going over to Cromwell: so he was brought before the Parliament, to hear what he could say, why the sentence should not be

executed. He was then become a Quaker, and did with a sort of eloquence that moved the whole house, lay out all his own errors, and the ill spirit he was in, when he did the things that were charged on him, with so tender a sense, that he seemed as one indifferent what they should do with him: and without so much as moving for mercy, or even for a delay, he did so effectually prevail on them, that they recommended him to the King, as a fit object of his mercy."

A more modern and finished narrative of his case, drawn by the pen of Walter Scott, who it seems is a descendant of Swintoune's, shall close the present Note.—The Editor cannot, however, introduce this extract, without acknowledging, in terms of sincerity and plainness, the kind interest and attention manifested to him by the Writer of it, on application being made for particulars respecting the families of Swintoune and of Scott.

—"The celebrated John Swinton, of Swinton, nineteenth baron in descent of that ancient and once powerful family, was, with Sir William Lockhart of Lee, the person whom Cromwell chiefly trusted in the management of the Scottish affairs during his usurpation. After the Restoration, Swinton was devoted as a victim to the new order of things, and was brought down in the same vessel which conveyed the Marquis of Argyle to Edinburgh, where that nobleman was tried and executed. Swinton was destined to the same fate. He had assumed the habit, and entered into the Society of the Quakers, and appeared as one of their number before the Parliament of Scotland. He renounced all legal defence, though several pleas were open to him, and answered in conformity to the principles of his sect,—that, at the time these crimes were imputed to him, he was in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity; but that God Almighty having since called him to the light, he saw and acknowledged these errors, and did not refuse to pay the forfeit of them, even though, in the judgment of the Parliament, it should extend to life itself. Respect to fallen greatness, and to the patient and calm resignation with which a man once in high power expressed himself under such a change of fortune, found Swinton friends; family connexions, and some interested considerations of Middleton the Commissioner, joined to procure his safety; and he was dismissed, but after a long imprisonment and much dilapidation of his estates."

Note II.—Page 122.

Owen's work *On the Mortification of Sin in Believers* was published in 1656. "It discovers," says Orme, his biographer,

" a profound acquaintance with the corruption of the human heart, and the deceitful workings of the natural mind. It is not the mortification of a voluntary humility, or the infliction of self-devised and unnecessary pain, which it recommends; but the gradual weakening and final destruction of the principle of sin, by the operation of spiritual influence, and the application of Divine truth." *Memoirs*, p. 220.—The Treatise *On Watchfulness*, must have been that entitled *Of Temptation; the nature and power of it; the danger of entering into it; and the means of preventing that danger, &c.* 1658; being the substance of some sermons on Matt. xxvi. 41.—" Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation."—*Memoirs*, p. 501.

Note JJ.—Page 132.

Remarkable, certainly, is the coincidence between Alexander Jaffray's forebodings, with regard to the prospects of the "three nations" at this crisis,—thus developed too, as they are throughout this paragraph, in a way of pious, chastened meditation and secret prayer,—when compared with the descriptions given by historians, of that state of things which soon ensued. Bishop Burnet in particular, in the History of his own Times, conveys briefly indeed, but very sufficiently, a realization of the apprehensions of his fellow-countryman and cotemporary, our Author.

" With the restoration of the King, a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the nation, that brought on with it *the throwing off the very profession of virtue and piety:* all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overrun the *three kingdoms* to such a degree, that *it very much corrupted all their morals.* Under the colour of drinking the King's health, there were great disorders and much riot every where: and the pretences of religion, both in those of the hypocritical sort, and of the more honest but no less pernicious enthusiasts, gave great advantages, as well as they furnished much matter, to the profane mockers of true piety. Those who had been concerned in the former transactions, thought they could not redeem themselves from the censures and jealousies that those brought on them, by any method that was more sure and more easy, than by going into the stream, and laughing at all religion, telling or making stories, to expose both themselves and their party as impious and ridiculous." vol. i. p. 127. See also Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 269.

Note KK.—Page 140.

This was the Committee of Estates. Bishop Burnet, in allusion

to this precise time, thus adverts to it.—"In August, the Earl of Glencairn was sent down to Scotland, and had orders to call together the Committee of Estates. This was a practice begun in the late times: When the Parliament made a recess, they appointed some of every state to sit, and to act as a Council of State in their name till the next session; for which they were to prepare matters, and to which they gave an account of their proceedings." "A great many offenders were summoned, at the King's suit, before the Committee of Estates, and required to give bail, that they should appear at the opening of the Parliament, and answer to what should be then objected to them." vol. i. p. 155, 156.

Note LL.—Page 144.

James Simpson was minister at Airth in Stirlingshire. "He was a person of singular piety, considerable learning, and a most affectionate and melting preacher." Towards the beginning of the month called June, 1661, being accused in Parliament by the King's advocate of seditious practices, he was banished the King's dominions, without being heard by the Parliament in his own defence. He died in Holland.—Woodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland. vol. i. p. 71.

Note MM.—Page 149.

In the *Acts and Minutes of the Parliament of Scotland,* under date of "the 16th of January, 1661," is recorded the following Petition of Alexander Jaffray, together with the decision of the house upon it.

"To the Lord Commissioner his Grace, and the honorable Estates of Parliament.

"The humble petition of Alexander Jaffray showeth,

"That when your Lordship's Petitioner was requyred by the Committee of Estates to subscryve the publict bond, your Lordship's Petitioner desired some tyme for getting of cautioners [securities,] and satisfeing himselff anent the bond, which he heard wes granted to others. But this favor being denyed to your Lordship's Petitioner, he wes upon the 20th day of September last committed prissoner to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, wher he hath remained ever since; albeit, within few dayes after his imprissonment, having satisfied himselff of the said bond, he offered to subscryve the samen, and did supplicat for libertie, wherunto he receaved no ansuer. Thorow which imprissonment, your Lordship's Petitioner, being of ane infirm and valetudinarie con-

dition, his health is much impaird and lyff endangered, for want of his ordinarie helps and frie air, as the certificat of two knowne physicianes doth mak appeir.

"May it therfore please your Grace and the honorable Estates of Parliament, to grant warrand to put your Petitioner to libertie, upon caution for his peacable deportment, and to ansuer for his by-past behavior when he shall be called, as your Grace and the honorable Estates of Parliament shall appoyntt.

"And your Lordship's ansuer the Petitioner expects.

[Signed] "ALEXANDER JAFFRAY."

"The Lord Commissioner, with advyce of the Estates of Parliament, ordains the supplicant to be putt to libertie, he finding caution to stay within the town of Edinburgh, and not to remove furth thereof bot be order of Parliament, under the paine of 20,000 lib.

[Signed] "GLENCAIRNE, Cancellarius,
"I. P. D. Parl."

"The Lord Commissioner and Estates of Parliament, gives hereby warrand and order to the magistrats of Edinburgh, to set the persone of Alexander Jaffray at libertie furth of their Tolbooth, he finding caution to the Lord Register's sight to stay within the town of Edinburgh untill the Parliament's further order."

NOTE NN.—Page 159.

The following quotation from Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, will, in general terms, convey the occasion of the imprisonment of these individuals.—"The Committee, which had been appointed by the King's last Parliament at Stirling in 1651, met on the 23d of August, [1660, after his restoration,] to prepare matters for the Parliament; and, by the King's order, the Earl of Glencairn presided in it. This convention, among other things, gave orders to apprehend ten or twelve ministers of the Remonstrator party, who had met at Edinburgh, and had drawn up a new remonstrance, putting the King in mind of the Covenant, which he had solemnly sworn when he was among them, and declining his having any power or authority in the settlement of the church. The Committee likewise summoned sundry *suspected persons* to appear before them, and find bail for their answering in the next Parliament."—vol. ii. p. 446. Among these ten or twelve

ministers, Cruickshank, in his History, vol. i. p. 68, gives the four names here mentioned, as well as that of James Guthrie, concerning whom Jaffray next speaks; and at page 74, among the *suspected persons,* the same historian introduces the name of our Diarist himself. With regard to Guthrie, "He was accused," says Bishop Burnet, "of accession to the remonstrance, when the King was in Scotland, and for a book he had printed, with the title of *The Causes af God's wrath upon the Nation;* in which, the treating with the King, the tendering him the Covenant, and admitting him to the exercise of the government were highly aggravated, as great acts of apostasy." He was executed on the 1st of the month, called June, 1661, and his head, according to the sentence passed against him by the Parliament, was affixed on the chief gate of Edinburgh. Moncrief had nearly shared the same lot, but his life was spared; yet he was declared incapable of exercising any public trust, civil or ecclesiastical, and afterward underwent much hardship and persecution. Trail was tried before the Parliament; and the next year was banished, and went to Holland.

Note OO.—Page 168.

"One Macquare, a hot man and considerably learned, did in his church at Glasgow openly protest against this act, as contrary to the oath of God, and so void of itself. [This was the act asserting the King's power in treaties of peace and war, in consequence of which the League and Covenant was condemned.] To protest against an act of Parliament, was treason by their law. And Middleton, [the King's Commissioner,] was resolved to make an example of him, for terrifying others. But Macquare was as stiff as he was severe, and would come to no submission. Yet he was only condemned to perpetual banishment. Upon which, he and some others who were afterwards banished, went and settled at Rotterdam." Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 161.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND PERSECUTIONS

OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS,

IN THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND.

"We have heard with our ears, O God ! our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old." Psalms, xliv. 1.

"We will not hide them from their children, showing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works that he hath done." Psalms, lxxviii. 4.

"Great have been the mercies of our God ! for which, future generations shall praise him, and children yet unborn magnify his name." *Ury Record.*

MEMOIRS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

1653: RISE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN SCOTLAND—THEIR FIRST MEETINGS AND MINISTERS—1662: ALEXANDER JAFFRAY AND OTHERS AT ABERDEEN JOIN THEM—MEETINGS ESTABLISHED AT INVERURY, ARDIHARRALD, AND KINMUCK—GEORGE GRAY—1663-4: IMPRISONMENT OF RICHARD RAE, GEORGE KEITH, AND PATRICK LIVINGSTON—ALEXANDER JAFFRAY SUMMONED BEFORE THE HIGH COMMISSION COURT, EXAMINED BY ARCHBISHOP SHARPE, AND FINED, &c.

In the preceding division of this Work, has been disclosed the religious Diary of an individual, whose allotment and avocations in life gave him occasion to mix freely with most classes of his fellow-men. We have now followed him in his career, nearly through the space of half a century. Thus far, then, we have been very intimately made acquainted with the character of Alexander Jaffray.

Amidst all the vicissitudes of his day, we have beheld the earnest exercise of his spirit, in a search after substantial good; he has laid open before us, in a vivid and most ingenuous manner, his longings for complete deliverance from the malady of our species; and he has described some of the steppings of his soul in its progress heavenward. We may have noticed, what great cause of humiliation he found on account of his early deviations from "the path of life;" long afterwards, also, had he to pine over the too many successful attempts of our deadly enemy. But it was within the scope of that gracious Arm of power, on which he depended, to heal all his backslidings, to bruise Satan under his feet, and fully to

bring about within him the new creation in Christ Jesus. As a part of this great work, he found that the very bias and tendencies of his nature were gradually to be dislodged, together with all those views and attachments, to which by education or custom we are every one of us variously bound, so far as these were clearly seen to be at variance with the rule of gospel light. On our approach towards the close of the Diary, we must have especially marked that excellent position, towards which the mental eye of the writer so *constantly turned*, and on which it was becoming *more and more intensely fixed;*—a state of *pure and full reliance upon the Lord's direction*, of *simple, quiet resignation unto the Lord's disposal in all things*, according as his will and power should be made known in the secret of the heart. This state of mind has been abundantly held up to us in various parts of the Sacred Records,—as *a rest which remains for the people of God*, into which the true believer, while in this state of existence, is permitted to enter,—even all such as come unto Christ spiritually, that is, receive him into their hearts, learn of him, and take his yoke upon them:—these find rest to their souls.

But Alexander Jaffray was not without his companions in this description of pious dedication. What therefore remains to be offered to the reader, of his history and religious course, is now to be produced connectively with that of some of those Christian people, in the north of Scotland, unto whom, henceforward, he became firmly linked in the fellowship of Christ.

In the south of Scotland, as in the north, there were individuals, whose minds had been for some years more or less similarly affected. Weary and heavy-laden under a sense of their own manifold short-com-

ings, they yet believed there was to be known, a more purely spiritual way of worship, and of life and conduct, than that which they, or any with whose profession they were acquainted, had arrived at. Deeply burdened with the formality, superstition, and will-worship prevalent around them, and under which the various public preachers too generally detained their hearers, these serious inquirers had separated from the several congregations of the people; and at length some of them began to meet together by themselves, waiting upon God in a holy silence and awful humility of soul, for ability to draw nigh unto him in true spiritual worship. On these occasions, they were at times made sensible of the quickening virtue, power, and life of the Holy Spirit, enabling some of them to speak forth the praises of the Almighty, and from an inward experience of his goodness, to extend instrumentally a hand of help to others.

Such religious meetings in the south of Scotland, after the manner of the people called Quakers, appear to have been held at a place called Drumbowy, and also at Heads, as early as the year 1653; and the first experimental preachers, in this manner raised up from among them, were William Osborne, a colonel in the army, Richard Ree, or rather Rae, and Alexander Hamilton. It is distinctly stated, that these meetings had been established for the full space of a year, before any in connexion with the Friends found them out and visited them. So that if, as it would seem, James Nayler had preached in Scotland at least two years earlier than this date, it must be concluded that he did not fall in with this little flock. See Appendix, *A*. They had not then, as yet, been recognised by the Society of Friends in England, nor had they received instrumental encouragement, except

from those of their own number, to persevere in the course so remarkably opened before them.

Very soon, however, were the feet of several gospel messengers from England turned in this direction; as, Christopher Fell, George Wilson, John Grave, George Atkinson, Sarah Cheevers, and Catherine Evans. In the year 1654, Miles Halhead and James Lancaster travelled into Scotland; and in the succeeding year, William Caton and John Stubbs. George Fox was at Edinburgh in the year 1657; and, in company with Robert Widders and Alexander Parker, passed through the adjacent country in several directions, "sounding the day of the Lord, preaching the everlasting gospel of salvation, and turning people to Christ Jesus who died for them, that they might receive his free teaching." G. Fox's Journal, 3rd edit. p. 255.

It does not appear that any of these dedicated labourers, unless it were John Grave and George Atkinson, advanced so far as Aberdeen; nor did Stephen Crisp, who, in the year 1659, being then recently come forth in the ministry, left his home in Essex, in order to bear witness to the Truth of Christ, in Scotland. His own account of this undertaking, although affording no additional particulars on the subject immediately before the reader, contains so fair an illustration of the grounds and motives of the early ministers of this Society, in their religious embassies, that it is thought well to give it a place in the Appendix to these Memoirs. See Appendix, *B*.

Nearly a year prior to this, John Burnyeat of Cumberland, was engaged in a similar concern; and he being the first who makes mention, though very briefly, of Aberdeen, in the account he has left of his visit to that nation, it will be proper to detain

the reader by an extract from his published Journal.—"Now, while I was in prison, [in the common gaol of Carlisle,] something came upon me for Scotland; but, I being a prisoner, and not yet deeply acquainted with the way and work of the Lord's power and Spirit, as in relation to such a service, great was the exercise of my spirit that I went under; and, for want of experience and a clear understanding, I was swallowed up, and for a time quite lost in the deep, where, great was the distress of my soul, beyond utterance! But, the merciful God, by his powerful arm, and healing, saving Word of Life, did restore and bring up my soul out of the deep, where it was for a time buried, and renewed life and understanding, and caused the light of his countenance to shine, and the sweetness of his peace to spring; so that I may truly say, he caused *the bones that he had broken to rejoice.* And then, when he had thus crushed, and humbled, and let me see how he could make all things become as nothing again, and so hide all glory from man,—then, in His goodness, he revealed his glory, and power, and presence, and reviving life, and so opened to my understanding his good pleasure; which, with all readiness and willingness of mind, I gave up unto, in my heart and spirit. After my being kept about three and twenty weeks in prison, I had my liberty; and so came home, and followed my outward calling that summer; and grew more and more into the understanding of the mind and will of the Lord, in that which I had a sight of, while I was in prison. And so, keeping to meetings, and waiting upon the Lord, in a true travail of spirit after more acquaintance with him, and more enjoyment of his power and word, I grew, not only into an understanding, but also into a degree of strength and

ability fit to answer that service, which the Lord had called me unto.

"And so, then, in the faith, that stood in God's power, about the beginning of the eighth month, 1658, I took my journey into Scotland, and travelled in that nation about three months; and was both in the north and west of it, as far north as Aberdeen, and back again to Edinburgh, and so down west to Lithgow, Hamilton, Ayr, and as far as Port Patrick; and back to Ayr and Douglas. And our service was at their *steeple-houses*, and markets, and other places, where we met with people; and sometimes at Friends' meetings, where there were any. And our work was, to call people to repentance, out of their lifeless, hypocritical profession and dead formalities, wherein they were settled in the ignorance of the true and living God; and so to turn them unto the true light of Christ Jesus in their hearts, that therein they might come to know remission of sins, and receive an inheritance amongst the sanctified. And, being thus clear of that nation, we returned into England, and came over the water to Bowstead-hill, the first day of the eleventh month, 1658." See Appendix, *C*.

The gospel messages of these and other zealous witnesses, reached the consciences of many who heard them. Yet, with regard to Aberdeen and the district thereabouts, no open espousal of the tenets peculiar to the people called Quakers took place, until towards the end of the year 1662; when William Dewsbury was drawn, in love to these prepared and panting souls, to proclaim among them "the acceptable year of the Lord," even *deliverance from the bondage of corruption, by the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus*. Thus was the remarkable work of convince-

ment,—which had been secretly going on, in some of their hearts for several years, through many deep conflicts of spirit,—helped forward to such a point, that they were made willing, even in all things, to take up the daily cross, *though in various respects as bitter as death*, and to follow the guidance of Christ by his Spirit within them, whithersoever he should be pleased to lead.

On the list of this little, but noble band, the name of Alexander Jaffray stands foremost. He is described, in the ancient Record which forms a ground-work to this History, as having been chief magistrate of the city of Aberdeen, "*and a man of great account as to religion, among the highest professors all along.*" With what lively emotions of entire satisfaction, these doctrines were likely to have been embraced, at this time, by these individuals, may best be conveyed in his own language:—that, when first he heard that God had raised up a people in England, directing all to his pure light, Spirit, and grace in their own hearts, as the most sure Teacher and Leader into all truth, religion, and worship; *his very heart did leap within him for joy.*

In an early part of the preceding Diary, the Writer makes some favourable allusion to the principles of the Independents, nearly at that time, when, from conscientious motives, he thought it his duty to withdraw from communion with the Scottish Presbyterians. There is little doubt, but that, up to the season when the narrative breaks off, he belonged to no distinct society of Christian professors. After that period, during the short space which intervened before his joining the Society of Friends, he may possibly have been *considered* an Independent; agreeable to the statement given of him in that excellent publi-

cation, now called, "Piety Promoted." But hitherto, it is evident, he represents himself to us, as *reserving himself* for some further manifestation of a more excellent way, than that which had hitherto come within the line of his experience. The frame and breathing of his spirit seems constantly to have sent forth this petition, "*That which I see not, teach thou me;*" whilst his unshaken, uniform dependence on Divine direction and help, would doubtless oftentimes bring home to him the Scriptural promise and accompanying exhortation, Phil. iii. 15, 16. "———And if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing."

It is to be regretted, that no documents have been met with, throwing light upon that interesting, though small portion of his life, which extends from the last date occurring in the Diary, to the time when he was actually united to the Society of Friends; a period of about a year and a half. And truly, the few scattered notices respecting him, which afterwards occur, or of events in which he was concerned, however valuable so far as they go, the reader will observe, set forth but imperfectly the retiring qualities of his spiritual habit and walk. For, while the same general features of his character as hitherto pourtrayed, are plainly discernible throughout, matured indeed by wisdom, even that which is from above,—"pure, peaceable, gentle;" yet are we in great measure deprived of all that near access to the workings of his soul, unto which the form of a Diary admits us.

Among the names of those others, who are recorded as the first Friends in Aberdeen, convinced by the instrumental means of William Dewsbury, are

Alexander Gellie; Margaret, wife of Gilbert Molleson, a magistrate of the city, whose spiritual endowments gave her eminence and weight among the strictest classes; Elizabeth, wife of Andrew Goodall, merchant; Margaret, wife of John Scott, also a magistrate of the same place; with some others. See Appendix, *D.*

It will not now be doubted, that the motive influencing persons in these stations of life to such a change, was a conscientious desire to yield unreserved obedience to the teachings of the grace of God. It may also be as safely asserted, to have been their earnest prayer, that they might in no wise limit or exceed these, nor yet confound them with the dictates of human policy, custom, tradition, or imitation. Widely different, however, were at that day the conclusions taken up respecting them, especially by the public teachers of religion; nor can the virulent opposition to these views, and to all who held or propagated them, be in any wise palliated or disguised. Robert Barclay, who some years after became one of their number, in the preface to his first piece, entitled "Truth cleared of Calumnies," forcibly but justly describes the low estimation in which the Friends were held, not only at this time, but even before any settlement of them had been formed in this section of Scotland. The passage alluded to, is as follows.

"After the Lord had raised up the witnesses of *this Day*, and had opened in them and unto them the light and glory thereof, divers of them at sundry times were moved of the Lord to come into these parts, and unto the town of Aberdeen, in love to the seed which *there* was to be gathered; but their acceptance for divers years together, was very unsuitable.

"For the enemy that had wrought, and was exalted in the mystery of iniquity, to darken the appearance of this Day, had prepared and stirred up his ministers, to resist them and their testimony, by aspersing them with many gross calumnies, lies, and reproaches; *as demented, distracted, bodily possessed of the devil, practising abominations under colour of being led to them by the Spirit;* and as to their principles, *blasphemous deniers of the true Christ, of heaven, hell, angels, the resurrection of the body, and day of judgment; inconsistent with magistracy, nothing better than John of Leyden and his accomplices.* [See Appendix, *E.*] This was the vulgar and familiar language *of the pulpits,* which was for a time received for unquestionable truth; till about the year 1663, some sober and serious professors in and about the said town, did begin to weigh these things more narrowly, and find *the savour of that Life* in the testimony of this so much reproached people, which *some years before* had stirred in others, who were *now* come to a great loss and decay. And this gave them occasion to examine the principles and ways of that people more exactly; which proving, upon inquiry, to be *far otherwise* than they had been represented, gave them a further occasion to see the integrity and soundness of that despised people and of their principles, on the one hand; and on the other, to see the prejudiced disingenuousness and enmity of their accusers. In *these,* the Lord caused his word to prosper, (who were *few in number,* yet *noted as to their sobriety in their former way of profession,)* and raised them up to own that people and their testimony, and to become one with them."

Alexander Jaffray, shortly after his convincement,

removed from Aberdeen to Inverury, sixteen miles distant, and was instrumental in settling a meeting there. By this means, some, hearing the joyful sound of Truth, gladly closed in with it, as a day of merciful visitation, for which their languishing, weary souls had long waited. Among these, were James Urquhart and his wife, Robert Gordon, and John Robertson.

About the same time were also joined to their number, George Gray and Nancy Sim, persons of very good repute, both with regard to their religious qualifications and worthy conduct; insomuch that the appointed minister of the parish where they dwelt, Samuel Walker of Monkeggie, boasted of them, saying, *that he had a weaver, and a poor woman, whom he would defy any of the Quakers to equalise, either for knowledge or good life.* But when, shortly after, these very individuals, his hearers, respecting whom he was so highly opinionated, withdrew from under his teachings, and joined the people called Quakers, this minister was exceedingly incensed.

Respecting George Gray, it should here be briefly stated, that he afterward became, through sincere and steadfast adherence to the intimations of Christ's Spirit, a highly valued servant of the gathered church; being called into the ministry, during the time of his subsequent long and hard imprisonment at Aberdeen. Poor as to this world, and barely acquainted with the very rudiments of learning, *the word of God's wisdom, the word of faith, dwelt richly in him;* and his understanding being much enlarged in heavenly experience, he brought forth, as a faithful steward, the good things committed to him, to the great refreshment of the Lord's heritage, and to the building up of many in the Truth. As none could justly blame

the upright, even tenour of his conduct, so was he, through watchfulness, preserved and directed in the exercise of his ministerial gift; nor could any critical opposer, it is said, ever find him wrong in a word. On the other hand, many persons would confess their admiration at the excellent matter, utterance, and pertinent connexion observed in the testimonies of one, *so devoid of acquired learning*, and yet, *so thoroughly furnished in all respects unto his holy calling*. Thus, in this instance, was very clearly held up to view, what it is that constitutes *the best adorning* of gospel preachers, and what is the *only* right qualification for speaking "as the oracles of God." See Appendix, *F*.

Nancy Sim, who was also in low circumstances, readily opened her house, at a place called Ardiharrald, for the purpose of keeping religious meetings. But the people of the neighbourhood flocked to them so greatly, that her house would by no means contain those who assembled; on which account, they were often obliged to meet in the open field.—Thus did the word of the Lord prevail, which had been proclaimed among them,—the word of his grace,—unto which they had been commended,—and it "was precious in those days." Such as were made willing to yield to it, esteemed it more than their necessary food; indeed, it was with them, in their measure, as it was with the Prophet Jeremiah, where he says, "Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of my heart." It is evident, they received it "not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God," so that it effectually wrought in them, being mixed with faith.

Among others who "laboured in the Lord," Elizabeth Johnston, daughter of a physician, Dr. Wil-

liam Johnston, being a faithful and enlightened woman, became "a succourer of many," and a considerable "helper in Christ;" her mother, Barbara Forbes, who is mentioned in Jaffray's Diary, having also joined the Society. But the principal instrument made use of, in these parts, for the gathering of many from the barren mountains of an empty profession, to feed in the green pastures of life, under the leadings of the Shepherd of Israel, was Patrick Livingston, whose name will frequently occur in the course of this History. He was born near Montrose, and was convinced about the year 1659. Near three years after this, coming northward in the work of the ministry, when but twenty-eight years of age, the goodHusbandman was pleased singularly to own and bless his faithful labours by evident fruits; so that he became the means of planting a flourishing meeting of Friends at Kinmuck, which afterward grew to be the largest in the nation, and is still upheld in the same place to the present day. The following is described as one out of the many remarkable opportunities, which it is said that he had with the tender and serious people thereabouts. While he was sitting waiting on the Lord, among the first handful that were gathered into the like profession in that part of the country, there being many other persons present, the Friends were much bowed down and low in their minds, in a sense of "great straitness and hardness over the meeting." Patrick Livingston broke silence, by declaring, that, for a sign and token of the loving-kindness of the Lord, towards a seed or remnant raised and to be raised up in that country, *He would reveal his glorious presence among them in a wonderful manner, before they parted.* So little appearance of this was there, when he spoke, and for

a while after, that some of the Friends present who were weak in the faith, fell under a great concern, lest this should not have been by any means fulfilled. But the Lord, who never fails to be a very present help in time of need, unto all his patient, dependent little ones, was pleased at length to grant a plentiful outpouring of his mighty power through his servant, "even as a rushing stream, to the overcoming of the hearts of his children, and to the amazement of the people; of which circumstance," says the account, "there are yet living several witnesses."

The public preachers of Aberdeen now began to be considerably alarmed, at finding that so many, both of the higher as well as lower classes, withdrew from their communion. By calumnies and reproaches poured from the pulpits, they endeavoured to incense the magistrates to suppress this people, and to raise among the ruder and less intelligent of their hearers a spirit of indignation and of vindictive abuse. Hence it was, that whenever any of this persuasion appeared among them, they were received by the populace with stoning and beating in the streets, pulling by the hair, and other lawless abuses, which the magistrates, instead of reproving, too often countenanced. By their order, Richard Rae, before mentioned, a shoemaker of Edinburgh, was arrested and kept close prisoner in the Tolbooth or public prison of Aberdeen, for the space of six months.—This seemed like the signal for the commencement of a determined course of persecution—a persecution, unattended indeed by those extreme acts of savage cruelty, which were exercised towards the Presbyterians in the south of Scotland, about the same period; and yet, embracing such a series of unrighteous proceedings, carried on against a harmless and unresisting people, as cannot fail to

prove affectingly interesting to the mind of every considerate Christian. And why? Because he loves to mark the progress of "the true Light of the gospel, in dispelling the various shades of apostasy and spiritual darkness;—*on this account*, must he own and duly appreciate *every stand* that has been made or is making, in integrity, meekness, faith, and patience, against the delusions and encroachments of antichrist. See Appendix, *G*.

In the next year, 1664, George Keith, who had been convinced of the rectitude of the doctrines held by Friends, coming to visit his brethren at Aberdeen in the love of the gospel, was cast into gaol, and detained there ten months. Patrick Livingston also, for the same offence, became his fellow-prisoner during the space of seven months. While they were here, one Peter Strachan, son to Andrew Strachan, the public minister of Kintore, confined with them for debt or some misdemeanour, violently beat and abused them; and, taking away their papers, sent them to the magistrates. This man afterward became troubled in his conscience; and, under a sense of his wickedness in thus ill-treating the innocent, cried out fearfully, that the judgments of God were upon him for his behaviour towards them, and repeatedly begged forgiveness of them in the presence of several witnesses. See Appendix, *H*.

But the envy of the professed ministers of Aberdeen, George Meldrum and John Menzies, appears to have been now principally bent against Alexander Jaffray. His blameless life, and the high estimation in which he had for many years been held, by the more candid and serious inhabitants, appeared in their view to render him the more dangerous seducer. They accordingly stirred up against him Patrick Scougal,

Bishop of Aberdeen, and through him the Archbishop Sharpe also. Upon this, he was summoned to appear before the High Commission Court of their church; and on that occasion was enabled to bear a faithful testimony to the Truth of Christ, experiencing his promise to be fulfilled, Luke, xxi. 15, "I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist;" for, even the Archbishop himself, who condescended to confer with Alexander Jaffray, could get no advantage in argument against him. Nevertheless, to satisfy these ministers, the sentence of the court was, *that he should be confined to his own dwelling-house, and keep no meetings therein, nor go any where without the Bishop's licence, under the penalty of a fine of* 600 *merks*, Scots money, which is £33. 15*s.* sterling: this sum they esteemed to be one fourth part of his yearly rents. To such an unjust sentence his answer was, that *it was better to obey God than man*:—and this obedience, afterward, cost him various sufferings.

Some readers may need to be reminded, that the Episcopal form of church-government was reestablished in Scotland in 1662, after an interruption of twenty-four years. Sharpe was made metropolitan. He is described by some writers to have been one of the most unprincipled men of the age in which he lived. And certainly, to go no further than the testimony of Bishop Burnet, this character of him is amply confirmed. With regard to the other bishops in general, and of Scougal in particular, that writer thus speaks, in his History. "I observed the deportment of our bishops was, in all points, so different from what became their function, that I had a more than ordinary zeal kindled within me upon it. They were not only furious against all that stood out against

them, but were very remiss in all the parts of their function. Some did not live within their diocese; and those who did, seemed to take no care of them: they showed no zeal against vice: the most eminently wicked in the county were their particular confidants: they took no pains to keep their clergy strictly to rules, and to their duty: on the contrary, there was a levity and a carnal way of living about them, that very much scandalized me. There was, indeed, one Scougal, Bishop of Aberdeen, that was a man of rare temper, great piety, and prudence: but I thought he was *too much under Sharpe's conduct*, and was at least too easy to him." Burnet's History, vol. i. p. 304. It was scarcely to be expected, that men of this stamp should be mild and temperate in the exercise of that secular and inordinate power, with which they were now invested. In fact, one of them,—"so great a man as Leighton," who had indeed accepted the bishopric of Dunblane, but with the single view of endeavouring to promote the harmony of the church of Christ,—often declared, in Burnet's hearing, "that, in the whole progress of that affair, [the setting up of Episcopacy,] there appeared such gross characters of an angry Providence, that, how fully soever he was satisfied in his own mind as to Episcopacy itself, yet it seemed *that God was against them;* and that they were not like to be the men that should build up his church; so that the struggling about it, seemed to him, like *a fighting against God.*"

CHAPTER II.

1664: ALEXANDER JAFFRAY WRITES *A WORD OF EXHORTATION*, ADDRESSED TO PROFESSORS.

About this time, George Keith published a few sheets addressed *To those, who passed under the denomination of the Church of Scotland, especially to such as had once known a zealous profession, but had then greatly degenerated.* On that occasion, Alexander Jaffray was induced to write a preface to this Address, entitled, "A Word of Exhortation," stated to be "from a lover of the true interest of those to whom it is directed," and signed by himself.

This faithful and feeling expostulation of our Diarist, shall here be transcribed nearly at full length. It conveys, in beautiful but true colours, *the nature and ground of that spiritual testimony*, which both he and his associates were eminently concerned to bear. There may also be plainly seen, in this paper, one evidence, in addition to those that have gone before, of that heavenly love, meekness, and charity, with which the soul of Alexander Jaffray was replenished to the end of his course.

Whatever be our views of the deficiencies apparent in the style of writing of this period, especially religious composition, and even of authors whose advantages were by no means small; yet, if we wish to reach beyond the surface of things, and to appreciate what is of truth and wisdom, we must patiently dig into the mine. We shall often feel ourselves amply repaid for our labour; in meeting with that richness

and depth of thought, which, indeed, seemed to have occasionally carried some of these authors far beyond the niceties of diction. This remark may not be thought particularly applicable to the present instance; but it applies to many productions written by early members of the Society of Friends. They cared not to please the vain mind and corrupt taste in any; but their aim was to *satisfy the longing soul*, to *reach the witness for God in every conscience;* believing in the practical import of that saying of Solomon's, "The full soul loatheth an honey-comb; but to the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet." Prov. xxvii. 7.

JAFFRAY'S WORD OF EXHORTATION.

"How is it that ye do not yet discern this time? how long will ye shut out the discoveries of it, and thus provoke the Lord to shut you further out from beholding them? O fear, fear to be found any more in that guiltiness, which, if persisted in, may shut you out even for ever! And let none so look on themselves, as to suppose they are past this hazard, if they yet continue neglecting, opposing, and persecuting, or approving those who persecute, the growing light of this day, as it is come and coming forth, even with power and great glory.

"Truly, Friends, think what ye will, the chief thing in the controversy that is betwixt God and you, is this;—your keeping up men's traditions in place of the true institutions of Christ, while he now so evidently comes forth to vindicate and restore them—your adhering to, and preferring the oldness of the letter to the newness of the Spirit; which first, indeed, had its glory, but is not comparable to *this* which excels. Think not, that such a case and state of things

as was in the primitive days, ended with those, who were so zealous for, and loath to part with, the law and the outward ministration thereof in the letter. Nay, Friends; consider seriously of it in the fear of the Lord; lay by your passion and prejudice, for it nearly concerns you; consider of it in soberness, and ye shall truly find it *your* very case at *this* day, as *then* it was *theirs;*—that same spirit acting now, as then, for the outward ministration, in opposition to the inward, and more heightened in its actings now than ever. O when shall that be dead to you, or ye to it, wherein ye have been so long held from beholding the glory of the Lord, as it comes forth in the work of this day!—And how contrary to, and inconsistent with it, was that work, which by might and power ye were leading on; though ye had attained what ye proposed, in the furthest and highest extent of that Uniformity, which ye so endeavoured to have imposed upon all. Are ye not yet sensible of your mistakes and snares in these matters, so as to be made willing to glorify God, (as some of you have, it may be, ingeniously gratified men,) with a humble confession of your overreachings and other guiltiness, brought upon yourselves and the people of these nations?

"Many times hath it been in my heart thus to have spoken some few words unto you, as unto those whom I dearly love in the Lord, and to whom I stand by many bonds obliged, if in any service I could be useful. But, being somewhat sensible what *I* had to do in my own particular case, and not altogether unacquainted with the deceit of the busy enemy, who in this day lies so near, ready to draw out the mind to vent its own imaginations, and to speak of the things of God without his warrant; I have hitherto withheld, in expectation of a more fit occasion, which, on

the perusal of the ensuing papers, was very clearly given me. And indeed, the subject spoken to, and the truths asserted in them, had been some years ago much on my heart, and seriously inquired after;—and that this inquiry and search was of the Lord, attended with a blessing to me, I can very clearly testify; and finding the same things for the most part, so sweetly and with such a spirit of meekness offered unto you, I see it only my duty at present to be concurring in my testimony, agreeing fully with what is said in them, as being most fit and necessary to be seriously minded by you.

"Dear Friends, it is high time for you to awake, and to consider what ye are doing: there is another thing to be brought forth in this day than ye have yet conceived; your guiltiness for opposing it, is greater than ye are aware of; nor, if ye so persist in the way of provocation, will your apparent zeal for God and his ordinances serve the turn; although I do think, it hath hitherto lain very near the hearts of some of you, where singleness of heart in any measure yet remains. Consider, if something of the same snare and temptation be not on you, as was on them who so zealously contended for Moses and the prophets; the same was their plea, and upon the same grounds did they go on, to the rejecting and crucifying of Christ, as ye, (some of you ignorantly and others more perversely,) are at this day in the way to do. Bear with my freedom; for, truly I can say it, there is no bitterness nor passion at my heart, while thus I use it; but the deep sense of the dreadful hazard ye are running, hath drawn it from me; that, if so, in the will of the Lord, ye may return to your first love, and again embrace the *Guide of your youth;* the missing and departing from whom, hath always been the cause of

the short-comings and mistakes of our fathers, the first Protestants, as well as of ours, with regard to the work of God. These, indeed, were not in every thing come to own their true Guide; though in some things they did it, and, according to the simplicity that was in them, they were sweetly ordered by him, and accepted of him. Thus was it with them; thus also hath it been with many who succeeded them; and was it not so, of late, among us also? yea, it was eminently so, both in Scotland, England, and Ireland? In this, mainly, is our great guiltiness exceedingly aggravated, even beyond what was theirs;—that, although the discovery of this duty, of *waiting to find the immediate direction of our Guide in every thing, as absolutely necessary*, has more clearly come forth, and at a time when this guidance is more fully bestowed than formerly; yet is it now (dreadful to think of) more than ever disowned and persecuted;—and by those very persons, whom I well knew to have sometimes sweetly enjoyed the blessed effects of the Spirit's immediate teachings in themselves, and thus to have been instrumental to the great advantage of others.—Such wonderful and astonishing effects do the deep and fiery trials of this day bring forth, when every work of man is to be consumed, as well the gold and precious stones, as the wood, hay, and stubble! 'That which is born of the flesh is' but 'flesh;' even that which is begotten *only* through the knowledge of Christ after the flesh, must be left behind and parted with, else the Comforter cannot come;—in this way, the fruitful field may become a wilderness, and the wilderness and solitary place a fruitful field;—thus it is, *the Lord alone may be exalted in this day, and all flesh must be low as grass before him.*

"Let, therefore, the dread and terror of the Lord

seize upon all, especially the professing people of this generation; that they may no more transgress in this thing, *of despising or neglecting the immediate teachings of his Spirit,*—this 'key of knowledge,' which the lawyers 'have taken away,' Luke, xi. 52, this little 'stone,' which must 'fill the whole earth.' Dreadful is the judgment that is to be met with by such, whatever they be, who shall still be found refusing to receive Jesus Christ, thus coming to his kingdom in their hearts! and what, then, shall become of those who shall be found *rebelling* against 'the true Light,' so as to mock and persecute it?

"Dear Friends, as ye love your peace and safety, beware of this; for it borders too near upon that guiltiness [of *speaking against the Holy Ghost,*] which 'shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.' What, need you to be so afraid at the coming of Christ to his kingdom, that so *his will may be done in earth as it is done in heaven?* hath it not been the matter of your *prayers* many a day, and do ye well to be angry, when it is so gloriously coming to pass? O! how can this become you ill, to desire, with *him* who so long since wished for and rejoiced at it, *that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that he would pour out his Spirit upon them?* This would not have wronged, nor diminished any thing from *his* ministry *then,* who was so eminent; nor will it *now,* from the true ministers of Christ. Those who make but a trade of preaching, thereby to win their living, as other tradesmen do, it is no marvel to see them very angry at the approaching glory of this day. 'If every one is to have the Spirit, and be permitted to speak publicly, what shall then become of our ministry,' say they, 'and how shall we live?' And though there be some,

yea, there may be many among you, who upon this account do not own these men, nor this plea for their pretended ministry; but, it may be, really think in your hearts, that, were there no other thing in it, ye could with Moses wish for and rejoice thereat, even that all the Lord's people were prophets;—pleading, that it is a *gospel* ministry and maintenance ye stand for, and no other; and this, being an institution of Christ, which you now perceive to be so struck at by the Quakers, ye may not so part with it. Yet consider seriously of this matter, and it will not be found so, either on your part, or on theirs whom ye with the world in scorn call Quakers: for we do really own both a gospel ministry and a suitable maintenance according to the Scriptures; and ye do neither own the one nor the other, but in words only. For, though ye seem to disown those men, who seek after the ministry and the standing of it mainly on account of their hire; yet, consider it seriously, if on this matter ye do not the very same thing with them, and harden them in their guiltiness, and the people in their prejudice, against us; while, by your profession and practice, ye justify an imposed and forced maintenance, which is so well known to be contrary to the gospel, and condemned by your predecessors, and many others of the martyrs and servants of God. And again, however ye pretend to be for a gospel ministry, it is not so; no, ye are downright opposers and persecutors of it:—and, alas! that I should have cause so to speak. Can ye produce any institution of Christ's for justifying a ministry, which cannot be maintained, but as descended through a line of succession from the great enemy of Christ; and for keeping up of which, a door must be set open even for the ungodly. For, it is plainly affirmed by many of

greatest note among you, that *grace* belongs only to the *well-being*, and not to the *being* of such a ministry and ministerial qualifications as are required by you: see *Durhame on the Revelation concerning Ministerial Qualifications*, page 199. And, where it is thus, a door is set open for an ungodly man to enter, if he be furnished with gifts of human learning; and closely shut upon another, however he may be known to be eminently pious, and well furnished with spiritual knowledge and gifts of the Holy Ghost. Is this your gospel ministry? And yet, thus it is, according to the acts and appointments of your (supposed) most pure and incorrupt assemblies, that have been of late: so far are ye in this also become contrary to your predecessors, who both by their practice and profession affirmed, *that every faithful man and woman was a priest;* this is fully testified to, both by *Knox's Chronicle*, and *Spotswood in his History*, 2nd book, p. 60. Are ye not, therefore, ashamed any longer to own such a ministry? O Friends! come down, and lie in the dust; for, greatly hath the Lord been thus provoked by you, and lamentable is the case of the people of these nations, who are perishing in their sins, because of such a ministry,—such leaders of the people so causing them to err.

"And if it be here asked, What is that ministry, and what are the qualifications thereof, which the Quakers require? To this I need say but little; the author of the ensuing papers having fully and faithfully spoken to it, and divers other particulars; whose testimony, if not made use of, will one day bear witness against you; as well against the multitude of time-servers, who go along with every thing, as of others, who at present are under some sort of suffering (though in part) for a true testimony, given in

some particulars, yet no ways answerable nor suitable to what is required in this day. And all of you, in your several interests and capacities, as ye stand related to the Kirk of Scotland, as it is styled, and to the pretended work of reformation, are very much called upon, seriously to mind what is therein said unto you; and then, the thing intended may very clearly appear,—that hitherto ye have been labouring but in the fire, as to producing any work of reformation which God allows of; yea, and going rather backward from what was once attained to, losing and plainly contradicting the true and honest principles of your worthy predecessors: which one thing, rightly considered, may evidently demonstrate to you, that your work hath not been, nor is, of God. The presence of God having been very evidently with the author of these papers, in his inquiry after these things, this his service may be very useful for you;—and will be so found and acknowledged by those, whose eyes shall be opened to behold, how the Lord comes forth in this day of his power, to try every work of man, and *by the foolish things of the world to confound the wise.* And as to what is there said on that particular, respecting the qualifications of a true minister, I shall only add these few words:—That which was so necessary from the beginning, that which we have heard, and seen, and handled with our hands, of the Word of life,—even the power and presence of the Lord in his people,—do we, whom in scorn ye call Quakers, declare unto you, as the only essential qualification of a true minister of Christ.

"And if this be it, ye are so afraid of, that through the increase of this, *the spirit of prophecy*, the true church and ministers of Christ shall suffer loss; your fear upon this account is groundless; for only in *that*

way must these stand and prosper, so as that the gates of hell shall never prevail against them. But, if your fear be for the fall of that supposed church, which *they* (the hirelings, I mean,) and *ye* so contend for, both among yourselves and with others, (which is truly antichristian and no better;)—then, undoubtedly, your fear is coming upon you.—And for preventing it, as ye may think, it is no marvel, that ye so fall in with them for the defence of Rome and her ministry; or else, (as some, who have been and yet are famous among you, have both spoken and written,) that ye must not only lose your church and ministry, but your baptism and the Bible also. The witness of God in your consciences cannot but tell you, how much ye did once detest and abhor to say or think so; until of late, your skirts are discovered and your heels made bare, through the growing light of this day, in these and many other points of the like nature, and your way is so hedged up of the Lord, that ye cannot escape,—either to own Rome as your mother church, and so return to her again, or fully to part with and come out of her for ever;—*and thence not to bring with you a stone of hers, either for a foundation to Zion, or for a corner.* Nay, Babylon *must* not be; ye have been for a long time endeavouring otherwise; but she *must* be destroyed for ever; agreeably to that of Jeremiah, li. 9, 'We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed: forsake her, and let us go every one into his own country; for her judgment reacheth unto heaven, and is lifted up even to the skies.' And the time of her judgment draws near; and yet, neither the church, nor ministers of Christ, nor the true baptism, nor the Holy Scriptures of truth, nor any other of his true ordinances, shall thereby suffer loss; but great and glorious advantage will be to those who wait for it.

"And because there are some, with whom I have had sweet fellowship in the Lord, who, it is very likely, would have expected some other thing from me, than such sharp and peremptory expressions and conclusions, both against them and the way of the Kirk of Scotland, as they term it, in which I was bred with them, and had my beginning in the way of godliness;—now, to speak shortly a word to this.—I am not without hope, that a day is coming, (and frequently have I sought it of the Lord on your behalf,) when ye shall come to see the truth of what I say, and the necessity which was on me for it on your account; even so as that ye shall willingly acknowledge, it was the greatest evidence of my dear and tender love in the Lord towards you, which, next to his glory, led me to it; and that, otherwise, I should be wanting in the expression of that true and sincere love, which I still have towards you.

"As to the advantages I have found in owning these despised people, called Quakers, I need say but little, if what is contained in this and the following pages be considered. I know, indeed, it is my place to lie low in the fear of the Lord, and to speak but little as to advantages, or any progress that I have made; and I acknowledge, no man hath more matter so to do; yet, in this case, I may not be silent, but must, in the fear of the Lord, thus give my testimony to this precious people, and the truths of God asserted by them,—that they do truly and really both profess and practise the new and living way, in which holiness is attained, by mortification and subduing a body of sin and death; having indeed come to the discovery of these things, even in the life and power, which throughout the dark night of apostasy hath lain much hid, and hath been but very little felt or known. Such is the goodness of

God to that precious people; (count of them and call them what ye will,) the power of life and holiness is more truly known among them, and eminently held forth by them, than by any people else that have come forth since the apostles' days;—and a greater measure do they yet wait for, and as they are faithful, it will be multiplied on them; for the presence of the Lord is with them, and all their opposers must fall [yield or give way] before them.

"Dear Friends, consider then, how far ye have been mistaken concerning them, being carried on with groundless jealousies and prejudice against them, as though they were grossly erroneous, blasphemers, and the like. Nay, nay, Friends, it is not so; and upon search, ye shall find it far otherwise; let your informers (—many of whom sinfully take things on report without trial, and others, for the maintenance of your own interests, *have made lies their refuge*)—let such say what they may,—this people is, and will be found to be, a blessed people; who, as instruments in the Lord's hands, may be called *the repairers of the breach*, and *the restorers of the paths to dwell in.* [See Appendix, *I.*] They dearly own and rejoice in the use of the Holy Scriptures, and desire to live up to the practice of all the truths of God declared in them. Beware, then, what ye say or think of them, and that ye approve not in the least their persecutors. And if, as yet, ye cannot receive what they offer, yet beware to reject or to judge of it, because ye cannot as yet close with it; the time may come, when ye shall both see and receive it. If *the work* they are about, *be of God*, (as undoubtedly it is,) then it must prosper; beware therefore to be found any more opposing it, *lest ye be found also fighters against God.*

"As for me, I am but a child, and as one of yester-

day;—yet, through grace, I am what I am: and although I own that state wherein I was, when I walked with you; (for, truly I can say, there was a measure of singleness and sincerity within me in it, and therefore I *may* not disown it,—*nor any*, while they so continue there, if they be not wilfully opposing further discovery;)—yet, this I verily know, and can truly say, I then was, and now am, called of the Lord *to go further, forgetting the things that are behind, to press forward for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.* This is what I aim at: and what, through the help of my God, as I keep faithful to what I know of it, I have hope more than ever to attain,—even in *that* way so much slighted and despised by you.

"Now, that I may come to a close; I have but a few words more to say, to such of those to whom these papers are directed, *who are gone beyond the sea,* if at any time this shall come to their hands:—it is, to desire them in the fear of the Lord to consider seriously what is herein in particular said unto them; and if, without prejudice and in soberness, they wait for it, I am hopeful it shall be said unto them, 'How came ye here, and what do you here, *seeking to uphold that which I am pulling down, and to bear down that which I am setting up?* this is not your proper work: return from whence ye came, and it shall be shown unto you.' [See Appendix, *J.*]

"Dear Friends! (for so ye are to me,) whether ye will hear or forbear, yet know of a truth, I speak not unto you without a warrant.

"Alexander Jaffray."

"Written in the 11th month,
1664."

CHAPTER III.

1665: GEORGE KEITH'S ILL-USAGE, AND THE IMPRISONMENT OF ALEXANDER FORBES AND OTHERS—DAVID AND ROBERT BARCLAY JOIN THE SOCIETY—SOME ACCOUNT OF THEM, ESPECIALLY OF DAVID BARCLAY PREVIOUS TO THIS CIRCUMSTANCE.

George Keith, in the year 1665, under a sense of religious duty towards his Maker, and with a desire for the good of souls, publicly confessed and upheld "the way of the Lord," in an address to the congregation who assembled at "*the great place of worship*," in Aberdeen. In attempting that service, he was violently assaulted, beaten, and knocked down by one James Horne, their bell-ringer. It was observed, that, a short time after this, the same individual, going up the steeple to ring the bell, suddenly fell down through a hole, above four stories high, was instantly killed by the fall, and on the very same place of the pavement, where he had beaten the Friend above mentioned.—The reader is of course left to make his own reflection on this latter circumstance; whilst the conduct of such as George Keith, may be further explained in the Notes. See Appendix, *K*.

The following year, Alexander Forbes of Achinhamper, who had then lately shown a decided preference for the Friends having withdrawn from the teachings of James Gordon, minister at Alford, in whose parish he dwelt, the latter individual thought proper to excite the Bishop of Aberdeen to prosecute him; upon

which, at length, both he and Alexander Gellie were apprehended and carried away to Edinburgh, being imprisoned in the Cannon-gate Tolbooth there, whither they were committed for six months. Their deliverance was, however, happily effected before that time had expired, and without a violation of conscience on their parts, or submission in any wise to the will of their adversaries.—Towards the close of the same year, John Glennie, James Urquhart, John Brown, and William Gellie were also taken, while at their own place of worship, and imprisoned for two months in a place called the *Iron-house* at Aberdeen, where the worst of felons and murderers were usually confined.

But by such rigorous proceedings, those termed the clergy did not attain their object; on the contrary, others from time to time fell off from their congregations, and joined the despised people called Quakers. This year, in particular, 1666, David Barclay of Ury, descended from "an ancient and honourable family among men," and, about the close of the same year, his son Robert, openly and thoroughly attached themselves to this Society. Of these distinguished characters, a small memoir was long since published; and of Robert Barclay, in particular, a more recent account, well known to many readers of the present volume. The transactions of their lives are, however, so closely mixed up with this period of our church history in the north of Scotland, that it becomes needful to revive them in the present shape; interspersing also some additional particulars, from sources not hitherto availed of.

With regard to "Colonel David Barclay," as he did not enlist under the pacific banner of the cross of Christ, till past the meridian of life, it is thought pro-

per to travel somewhat out of the course of this history, by touching upon his career before he became a Friend. This digression, it is hoped, will not prove devoid of interest and instructive bearing. It is after having taken a view of the stations occupied by such individuals in the world, and their connexion and influence with those in political power, that we are more fully prepared to realize the difficulties of the path they afterward had to tread in; at the same time that we are better qualified to appreciate the depth, and strength, and beauty of that spiritual work, which was effected in them. We can then more duly estimate what it cost them, *to refuse the glory of this world*, with all the various opportunities that presented, of gratifying "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life;" as well as to accept with cheerful resignation "the reproach of Christ," *by becoming fools for his sake*, that so they might be "to the praise of his glory." Eph. i. 12.

David Barclay was born in the year 1610, at Kirktounhill, the seat and birthplace of his father, of the same name; who, living much at court, and being of an easy disposition, became embarrassed in his affairs, and was obliged in 1633 to sell the ancient estates, which had been held by the family for upwards of five hundred years. He, however, paid off his debts, and gave his son David, with the rest of his children, a liberal education. David went on his travels into Germany, and there enlisted as a volunteer in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden; but, after having been engaged in many battles, and quickly risen to the rank of major, on the breaking out of the civil wars in his native country, he returned home.

Being a man of "great modesty," he seldom if ever adverted to his military actions; nor is it likely he would do so, after he became one with the Friends in sentiment, as to the origin of "wars and fightings,"—except it were to testify against them. Some of these circumstances of his life, however, are alluded to in the histories of the times, *and also bear upon certain points connected with the foregoing Diary;* they are therefore deemed by no means unfit to have a place in these Memoirs. Circumstances of this description, like those of a similar cast relating to Alexander Jaffray, may assist the reader in contemplating the strong contrast there is, between views of worldly and warlike policy, such as *then* influenced the conduct of these individuals, and that line of conscientious practice taken up by them *in after life*, which induced them to become comrades in the spiritual warfare.

The following narrative is taken, nearly verbatim, from a manuscript now before the Author, written by the grandson of Robert Barclay; his ultimate or chief authority, however, with regard to David's military exploits, seems to be one Gordon of Sallach, who, it is said, wrote an account of the Sutherland family, in which he relates many events, that he had himself witnessed.

"Colonel Barclay was sent with an army, in 1646, to quell an insurrection made by the Earl of Crawford, who, with a number of Irish as well as Scottish forces, had wasted the north parts of the kingdom, and burnt several towns. But, the Colonel coming up with him at Banff, entirely routed him."

The above writer states, that, in the same year "Major General [afterwards, the Earl of] Middleton, and the Colonel were sent with an army to relieve Inverness, then besieged by the Marquis of Montrose

and the Earl of Seaforth. The Colonel, crossing the river with his regiment of horse above the town, and falling upon Montrose's forces, routed both him and Seaforth, and made both flee to the mountains; having taken all their baggage and cannon. From thence they went to Chanrie of Ross, which they took after four days' siege, where they seized all Montrose's ammunition; after which, they restored the castle to the Lady Seaforth, whom they used very discreetly." "On their return to Edinburgh, the Marquis of Huntly attacked the town of Aberdeen, where Colonel Henry Barclay, Colonel David's relation, lay with two regiments; who, notwithstanding all the defence he could make, with the assistance of the inhabitants, became master of the place, Colonel Henry being taken prisoner, with about twenty officers, and a number were killed. Upon which the Parliament, in 1647, sent the General and Colonel David to reduce Huntly, who, upon their approach, retired to the Highlands. And, that he might not return, they took all the castles and towns, in which were placed garrisons; Colonel David being appointed Governor of Strathboggie, then a strong place, and Middleton Governor of the Bog of Gicht, now Castle Gordon."

The spring following, according to the same author, David Barclay married "Catherine Gordon, eldest daughter to Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, second son to the Earl of Sutherland. This Sir Robert, the first Knight Baronet of Scotland, was a man of great parts and honour, which, with his near relation to the Royal family, made him much esteemed at court; he being second cousin to King James the 6th of Scotland and 1st of Great Britain, to whom and his son King Charles the 1st, he was Gentleman

of the Bedchamber, Vice Chancellor of Scotland, and Privy Counsellor."

"David Barclay continued a Colonel of horse, being appointed to command in the shires of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. The nation being at that time alarmed with the sad condition of King Charles the 1st, then in captivity in the Isle of Wight, came to the resolution to rescue him; and the Parliament, for that purpose, having sent an army into England, under the command of the Duke of Hamilton, the protection of the kingdom, (and of the Prince of Wales' person, who was expected to land in Scotland,) was committed to three individuals: the Earl of Lanark, who was Hamilton's brother, and the Laird of Garthland, each with 500 horse, were stationed south of the Tay, and Colonel David Barclay with the same number, besides his own regiment, was to keep in order the country north of that river. This trust was executed on the part of the latter, with vigour and fidelity. But after Duke Hamilton's overthrow at Preston, the opposite party, being assisted by Cromwell, procured the engagement to relieve the King to be declared unlawful; in consequence of which all the officers were turned out of their posts. Among these, Colonel David Barclay was one; nor does it appear that ever after he was concerned in military affairs."

The above account of his conduct, is said to have been given, in a manuscript preserved in the family, *all written with his own hand;* he also takes notice, that being, for the reason just mentioned, rendered incapable of further service to his Prince, he retired to Gordonstoun for several years. During this time, the Earl Marischall, being taken prisoner at Eliot, in Angus, by the English under General Monk, and his estate forfeited, they seized it, together with the

lands of Ury, which the Colonel had purchased from him; on the pretext, that the *rights* (or perhaps *writings)* of the latter were not fully completed. Upon this, by the advice of the Earl and his other friends, he availed himself of the interest he had by his wife's cousin-german, the Earl of Sutherland, and other relations, and became elected member of Parliament for that shire; and in the next Parliament, by his own interest, for the shires of Angus and Kinkardine or the Mearns. This was looked upon as the only method left, to get possession of his own estate of Ury, as well as to do service to his country and friends, particularly the family of Marischall, towards whom he bore a great respect. With regard to these objects, he was so successful, that he got access to his own lands, and obtained large concessions in favour of the Earl Marischall's family, so that there was little made by that forfeiture to the party then in power. This, with his strenuous endeavours on behalf of the other forfeited nobility and gentry, made him so popular, that he was again, in the year 1656, elected member of Parliament for those two shires; where he vigorously opposed and voted against Cromwell's being made King.

After this, he disentangled himself from all public affairs, living in much privacy, sometimes at Edinburgh, and sometimes at Gordonstoun, with his mother-in-law; until the month called March, 1663, when he lost his excellent wife, Catherine, aged forty-three years. About the same time, in addition to this source of affliction, he was, by order of the government, after the Restoration, committed close prisoner to Edinburgh Castle. This treatment was said to be occasioned by his having been "a trustee under the Usurper," as Mackenzie's History of Scotland states; and yet he

had suffered in the cause of Charles the 1st, not only by being thrust from all his posts on that account, but by having his estate seized for several years. It was even suspected, there was a design that he should forfeit both estate and life, had it not been for the strong interposition of the General, and then Earl of Middleton, under whom he had served in the late civil wars; and by whose interest, as the King's Commissioner to the Parliament, he was liberated, without any thing being laid to his charge, or reason given for his commitment.

David Barclay had now passed through many vicissitudes, had tasted of prosperity and adversity, and by his general conduct among men, had obtained the approbation of most with whom he had been concerned. His retirement from the world, had given him a sight of his own heart, and of the uncertainty of all temporal things; each day giving fresh evidence of their instability in every condition, from that of the King upon his throne to that of the most destitute. He observed too, that neither justice nor innocency could protect, nor good offices done, secure a man from malice, envy, and persecution. In this perplexity, he thought it was high time for him, who had spent so much of his day in the service of others, (being then between fifty and sixty years of age,) to bestow the remainder wholly in the service of God, and by so doing more directly answer the great end of his creation. Under these considerations, he looked around him with the greatest anxiety and earnestness, to know, in the midst of so many pretenders, what society of Christians to join with. One observation he had made upon all the different persuasions, that each of them laid claim to be the only true Christians, yet not only differed from, but persecuted

one another with the greatest violence, as opportunity came into their hand; and this, for the very reason which had rendered themselves the object of persecution, namely, their differing from others. His intercourse with the world, both abroad and at home, had given him ample occasion to make such remarks on their *practice;* while the perusal of their several systems of divinity, whilst in his retirement, had afforded him full insight into their several *credenda.* Upon the whole, he concluded, that the Christian religion *must in itself be very good, and the only true religion,* since all valued themselves upon their claim to it; and further, that *all* could not be right, when they so widely differed one from another. To relieve himself by arriving at a determinate choice, he betook himself to the close reading of the New Testament, as the only certain way of knowing the religion of Christ in its primitive purity. By such means was he brought clearly to see, in what this essentially consists, and what was the shape its several professors had put upon it. He saw, that in itself it was "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost,"—that it taught to be humble, patient, self-denying,—to endure all things, to suffer all things;—not to place our happiness or comfort on this world, or the things of it.

Whilst under these considerations, he heard of a people, called in derision Quakers, who under great reproach for their singularity and abstractedness from the world, bore, in much plainness and simplicity, a remarkable testimony against all the follies and vanities of the world, as well in their practice as in words; and he considered with himself, that if they were really such as even their enemies were forced to acknowledge, there must be somewhat extraordinary

about them. These his private thoughts, he afterward communicated on several occasions to his friends.

Accordingly, with the greatest earnestness did he set about an examination and inquiry relative to *this way*, which was indeed "every where spoken against." Being in London about this time, he "had converse with several Friends both there and elsewhere," as the Record preserved at Ury distinctly states, "whereby his mind became convinced" with regard to the tenets held by Friends. Some months after this, being a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, as before recited, together with John Swintoune, respecting whom some particulars have already been given in a Note to p. 122, of Jaffray's Diary, David Barclay was considerably "strengthened and assisted" instrumentally by this individual, in making an open avowal of his sentiments. It is said of Swintoune, that during his imprisonment he was more concerned to spread the views he had adopted, than to defend his own life; and it appears, that on this occasion, the Governor of the Castle, to prevent the infection of his opinions, shut him up for several weeks close prisoner, debarring him from all sort of intercourse. With much wisdom, however, as well as patience and caution, did David Barclay pursue his inquiry, before he moved in so important a step. He ascertained, that notwithstanding all the calumnies and reproach with which their enemies loaded them, this class of men were a sober, plain, self-denying, religious people; that they never shunned suffering or persecution for their testimony; that they gave up *their all* for the sake of their religion; *that they had beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and neither taught nor exercised war any more,—the certain mark of the gospel times,* according to the

language of the evangelical prophet, Isai. ii. 4. Further,—*that they loved one another, the infallible character our blessed Saviour hath given, of their being his disciples,* John, xiii. 35; in short, that their practice and principles were most agreeable to the primitive standard recorded in the New Testament. He therefore came to this fixed and certain conclusion within himself;—*if Jesus Christ hath followers, disciples, or a visible church upon earth, these must be they.* So, upon full conviction, he joined with them, and became eminent for his religious and exemplary life, as formerly for his bravery, resolving to suffer indignities and injuries for conscience sake,—a virtue he was before very much unacquainted with.

This change in his resolutions, belief, and practice, made him suffer nothing in the esteem of the generous and better part of his acquaintances; but it had the contrary effect among the more mean and malicious; and the laws being then against all meetings for worship, not conducted after the prescribed national standard, these greedily laid hold of the occasion, to molest so peaceable a people; although it was clearly the main intention of the government, in the enactment of these laws, to put down those field conventicles of armed men among the Presbyterians in the south and west of Scotland, where few of the Quakers ever were disturbed. In the north on the other hand, chiefly at Aberdeen, they were often "mobbed by the dregs of the town, set on by the zealots of that day." It was remarked, that none bore these indignities with greater calmness than did David Barclay. One of his relations, upon an occasion of uncommon rudeness, lamenting that he should be now treated so differently from what formerly he had been; he answered, *that he found more satisfac-*

tion as well as honour, in being thus insulted for his religious principles, than when, some years before, it was usual for the magistrates, as he passed the city of Aberdeen, to meet him several miles, and conduct him to a public entertainment in their town-house, and then convey him so far out again, in order to gain his favour.

His humility and sincerity as to religion was "most remarkable in his whole conduct;" but his deportment is said to have been particularly awful and striking, when engaged in public prayer. In his person, he is represented as "one of the largest, strongest, and handsomest men that could be seen among many thousands; his hair, as he advanced in life, became white as the flax, but bald upon the top of his head, so that he wore commonly a black satin cap under his hat."

It appears, that David Barclay resided at Edinburgh at the time of his convincement, which, as before remarked, took place in 1666. In the 4th month following, he sent his son Robert to reside on his estate of Ury, near Stonehaven, being accompanied by his agent, David Falconer, a worthy Friend, who had several times suffered imprisonment for conscience sake at Edinburgh. The first public meeting for the purpose of worship was kept at Ury, with some others in that neighbourhood, that same month and year; Robert being then not nineteen years of age, and having quite newly become united in faith and fellowship with this religious body. Such a fact is thought worthy to be pointed out; and it is affectionately recommended to the contemplation of the youthful reader, taken in connexion with the extensive religious growth and fruitfulness of "this blessed young man" in after life:—it seems to have been as an

early offering by way of earnest, and, doubtless, not merely indicated, but opened the way to further acts of dedication. His father soon after, settling with his family at Ury, meetings of the like kind continued from that time to be regularly held, in a building close to the family mansion, for the space of, probably, more than one hundred and twenty years.

The foregoing biographical account being brought thus far, what remains to be portrayed of David Barclay, will be given with other events in the order of time.

His son Robert was born at Gordonstoun, in the shire of Moray, the 23rd of the 10th month, 1648. When very young, he had the appearance of a promising genius; and, after passing through the best schools in his native country, was sent by his father to the Scottish College at Paris, of which his uncle was the rector. Here he made so great proficiency in his studies, as to gain the notice and particular approbation of the masters of the college; and became especially a favourite with his uncle, who offered to make him heir to all his property, (which was very considerable,) if he would remain with him. But his father, fearing that he might become tainted with the superstitions of Popery, and in compliance with his mother's dying request, went to Paris in order to bring him home, when he was not much more than sixteen years of age. The uncle still endeavoured to prevent his return; and proposed to purchase, and give to him immediately, an estate greater than his paternal one. Robert replied, "He is my father, and must be obeyed." Thus he sacrificed interest to filial duty; and the uncle, disobliged, left his property to the college, and to other religious houses in France.

Robert Barclay returned to Scotland in 1664; two years after which, his father became united in mem-

bership to the Friends. So far from endeavours being used to gain over the son to this persuasion, it was the express desire of the parent, that he should have his religion from conviction, rather than from imitation; which accordingly proved the case. For, having freely and extensively visited all his relations and friends, in different parts of the country, of whatever religious denomination, and particularly those of the Roman Catholic body; having also strictly examined how far both their principles and practices were consonant with the Scriptures of truth; he found himself constrained, upon the same ground of real conviction as his father had been, to embrace the same doctrine and course of life. It is by no means evident, that he was induced simply through the means of preaching, to make this change; indeed, his own clear explanation, which will be shortly given, leads us to an opposite conclusion; but more especially the testimony of Andrew Jaffray, one of his intimate friends, who asserted that he was "*reached* in the time of silence." Although, during his father's imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle, the governor denied him all access to him for the space of several months; yet he had had sufficient occasion to observe the circumspect example and genuine piety of his worthy parent, as well as that of other servants of the Lord, who entertained similar views; and his mind was in consequence imbued with some "general impressions" in favour of Friends; till at length, according to the language of the *Ury Record*, "he came by the power of God to be reached and made to bow" before the Truth. At this juncture, John Swintoune and James Halliday were particularly helpful to him as instruments; and perhaps it might have been one of these individuals, who ut-

tered those few words, attributed to some minister who was present at the first meeting Robert Barclay attended, and which are said to have had considerable effect on his mind :—they were these—" In stillness there is fulness, in fulness there is nothingness, in nothingness there are all things."

His own explanation above alluded to, appears in the following passage in the "Apology," where, speaking of himself, he says,—"Who, not by strength of argument, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and convincement of my understanding thereby, came to receive and bear witness to the Truth ; *but by being secretly reached by this Life.* For, when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power amongst them which touched my heart; and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up; and so I became thus knit and united unto them, hungering more and more after the increase of this power and life, whereby I might find myself perfectly redeemed."—Prop. xi. sect. 7.

Some account of his religious experience from his youth, is contained in the succeeding extract, given nearly in his own words, from another of his publications, which is a treatise on "Universal Love :—"My first education from my infancy, fell among the strictest sort of Calvinists; those of our country being generally acknowledged to be the severest of that sect; in heat of zeal surpassing not only Geneva, from whence they derive their pedigree, but all other reformed churches abroad. I had scarce got out of my childhood, when I was, by permission of Divine Providence, cast among the company of Papists; and my tender years and immature capacity, not being able to withstand the insinuations, that were used to

proselyte me to that way, I became quickly defiled with the pollutions thereof; and continued so for a time, until it pleased God, through his rich love and mercy, to deliver me out of those snares, and to give me a clear understanding of the evil of that way. In both these sects, I had abundant occasion to receive impressions contrary to this principle of love: seeing the straitness of several of their doctrines, as well as their practice of persecution, do abundantly declare, how opposite they are to universal love. The time that intervened between my forsaking the Church of Rome, and uniting with those with whom I now stand engaged, I kept myself free from joining with any sort of people, though I took liberty to hear several. My converse was most with those, who inveigh much against *judging*, and such kind of severity: which latitude may perhaps be esteemed the other extreme, opposite to the preciseness of these other sects; whereby I also received an opportunity to know, what usually is pretended on that side likewise. As for those I am now united to, I justly esteem them to be the true followers and servants of Jesus Christ."

Through great love, watchfulness, and fidelity to the inward appearance of Jesus Christ, "the true Light," Robert Barclay early came forth a zealous and able witness for it, taking up his cross to the glory and friendship of this world, and despising the shame that attended his owning this testimony; for he esteemed "the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt," and counted all things but loss in comparison of *winning Christ, and being found in Him.* After this manner, he rapidly advanced, it may be said, both with regard to stature and strength, to such a growth in grace and saving knowledge, as has been the admiration of many. It

was not long, before he was called out to the public ministry; and, receiving this gift "as his greatest crown or dignity," laboured to fulfil the services required at his hand, in bringing others to the Truth as it is in Jesus; and his labour was not in vain in the Lord. Although he did not believe it required of him to travel so extensively as some others in this work, (there being ample room for variety in the administrations of heavenly wisdom to her children;) we find him, in this respect, very highly esteemed in love by his fellow-servants. William Penn styles him an "accomplished minister of Christ;" though, perhaps, not intending to convey what may in this day be understood by that phrase. George Fox, who was by no means addicted to eulogy, but rather sententious in his commendations, testifies of Robert Barclay, that he was "a wise and faithful minister of Christ,—— who did good service for the Lord——turning people from darkness to light. Much more might be written concerning this faithful brother in the Lord and pillar in the church of Christ, who was a man I very much loved for his labour in the Truth." Of his father, the same Friend writes, that he "was *a noble man* for the Lord and his Truth."

Before turning from these striking specimens of the effect of submission to Divine power in its operation on the soul, it will be proper, for the sake of those readers who may need such information, at least to advert very briefly to Robert Barclay's character as an author, and to one of his engagements in that line. He was considerably exercised in controversy, from the many contradictions which in that day were poured forth upon this view of the Truth, and upon him for its sake, chiefly in his own country. In these, he ever acquitted himself with honour to his religious pro-

fession; but particularly by "An Apology for the true Christian Divinity," held by the people called Quakers, which volume was published in Latin so early as the 28th year of his age; his first piece having appeared in print six years before. "This was," says William Penn, "the most comprehensive of all his pieces. It came out at the close of a long and sharp engagement between us of this kingdom, and a confederacy of adversaries of almost all persuasions. It was his happiness both to live in a more retired corner, and to enjoy at that time a space of quiet above his brethren: which, with the consideration of their three or four years' toil, and a sense of service in himself, put him upon undertaking and publishing this discourse, as an essay towards the prevention of future controversy: It first lays down our avowed principles of belief and practice,——[after which] he has put the objections which he had collected out of our adversaries' books——and answers them; and lastly cites divers authors, both ancient and modern, especially some of the primitive ages, for further illustration and confirmation——. The method and style of the book may be somewhat singular, and like a scholar; for we make that sort of learning no part of our divine science. But that was not *to show himself;* but *out of his tenderness to scholars*, and, as far as the simplicity and purity of the Truth would permit, *in condescension to their education*, and way of treating those points herein handled." It has passed through many English and also foreign editions, being translated into several languages. Among those, who from that day to the present have joined the Society by convincement, *not a few have been led to do so, from the perusal of this book.* Several have been the testimonies given in its favour by authors of repute.

"I am not ashamed," says one, "to own, that I have with great pleasure read over Mr. Barclay's Apology for Quakerism; and do really think it the most masterly, charitable, and reasonable system, that I have ever seen. It solves the numerous difficulties raised by other sects, and by turns thrown at one another, and shows all parts of Scripture to be uniform and consistent." Cato's Letters, or, Essays on Liberty, civil and religious, by Gordon and Trenchard, 1720, vol. iv. p. 226. Another author, Norris, a minister of the "Established Church," declares, "I cannot think Quakerism inconsiderable, as the principles of it are laid down and managed by Barclay. That great and general contempt they lie under, does not hinder me from thinking the sect of Quakers to be far the most considerable of any that divide from the Church, in case the Quakerism that is generally held, be the same with that which Mr. Barclay has delivered to the world as such; whom I take to be so great a man, that I profess freely, I had rather engage against a hundred Bellarmins, Hardings, and Stapletons, than with one Barclay." And again, that he knew of no religion so rich in reputation for great men, but might be glad of the accession of such a writer. Of Divine Light, Tract. ii. p. 32.

In truth, to adopt nearly the words of a candid writer, Robert Barclay's qualifications for controversial labour, were unusually eminent; being not only master of useful literature, but of a clear comprehension, a capacious reach of thought, a close and convincing manner of reasoning, delivered in a forcible style, though plain and unaffected. The excellency of his temper, heightened by the influence of religion, preserved him in coolness, that his judgment was not blinded by any degree of passion; whilst his regard

to undisguised truth prevented him from flattering error, or excusing calumny. His enlightened mind penetrated to the bottom of his subject; and this imparted a clearness of method, which, with the weight of his arguments, proved him an overmatch for his antagonists.

It is not requisite, here to enlarge any further on this author's productions. An ample survey of them has been given by the author of "A short Account of the Life and Writings of Robert Barclay," published in 1802. William Penn also wrote a preface to his Collected Works, in which there is a particular recommendation of the several treatises of which it consists. This introduction, for the lively spiritual sentiments pervading it, can scarcely be read without advantage by those who have a true relish for divine things.

CHAPTER IV.

1666· JAMES URQUHART EXCOMMUNICATED BY THE PRESBYTERY: A REMARKABLE CIRCUMSTANCE BEFALLS THE PERSON WHO PUBLISHES THIS ACT—1667: VIOLENCE OF "SIR JOHN KEITH" AGAINST THE FRIENDS—1668:—ILLNESS OF ALEXANDER JAFFRAY—HE IS IMPRISONED AT BANFF—HIS ADDRESS TO THE BISHOP OF ABERDEEN—1669:—LILIAS SKENE'S CONVINCEMENT—HER HUSBAND, FROM AN OPPOSER, BECOMES A FRIEND—1671: THE PUBLIC PREACHERS OF ABERDEEN ENDEAVOUR TO EXCITE THE CIVIL POWER AGAINST THIS PEOPLE—A SYNOD OF THE CLERGY ADDRESS THE KING'S COUNCIL AGAINST THEM—1672: THE KING'S DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE—FRIENDS RELIEVED BY THE JUDGES ON THE SUBJECT OF OATHS—THE SUDDEN AND DISMAL END OF SOME PERSECUTORS.

It happened about the year 1666, that James Urquhart, whose name has been before mentioned, for his conscientious separation from the national church of the day, fell under the censure of the Presbytery, and was excommunicated. The excommunication was sent to one William Forbes, a minister of the place where Urquhart lived, with an injunction of the Presbytery for him to publish it from the pulpit. The minister, conscious in himself of the honesty and integrity of the person, against whom he was enjoined to read the sentence, fell under strong convictions, and great reluctancy of mind against the performance of what he was commanded. But, when he considered, that the consequence of his disobeying the Presbytery would, in all probability, issue in the loss of his stipend, covetousness overcame his convictions; and he publicly pronounced the sentence against James Urquhart, in direct opposition to the dictates of his own conscience. This, afterward, gave him much uneasiness, and his mind became so discomposed, that he could not, for some time, proceed in perform-

ing the usual offices of his function; until, at length, he publicly and ingenuously came to confess, that his discomposure was a just judgment of God upon him, for cursing with his tongue a person, whom he believed in his own conscience to be a very honest man. But, notwithstanding his convictions were so clear and overpowering, he again fell into the like error, and in a way more nearly affecting him. His own daughter, Jane Forbes, was convinced of the Truth, and joined the people called Quakers. Church proceedings were carried on against her to an excommunication, which her father was required by the Presbytery to pronounce. The poor man's case, under so difficult a dilemma, was really to be pitied. Hard was his choice, either to lose his living by disobeying the Presbytery, or wound his conscience by pronouncing excommunication against his own daughter, whom he knew to be a virtuous and religious woman. But alas! both his conscience and natural affection gave place to the love of money; so that he was determined to read the excommunication, and had uttered some kind of prayers previous thereto, when he was suddenly struck by death, at the very time he had purposed to deliver that sentence. A melancholy and remarkable exit, wherein nature was observed to sink under the weight and oppression of a conflict between conscience and self-interest.

Sir John Keith, who in those days, and afterward, was very violent against Friends, having, in the year 1667, brought away, under a guard, several of this people from Inverury, where they had been previously imprisoned; the magistrates of Aberdeen, to whom they were delivered, after keeping them in confinement some time, caused them to be conducted through the streets, with great contempt and re-

proach, to the Bow-bridge, where a guard was provided to conduct them southward to Edinburgh, from shire to shire, as the worst of malefactors. When they had proceeded a little way out of the town, one of the prisoners, William Gellie, a man of very weakly and infirm habit, sat down; and the rest of the Friends followed his example, refusing to go further, unless horses were provided. At this, one of the bailies or magistrates, named ——— Alexander, who attended, in order to see them set out, was much enraged, commanding William Gellie to rise and go forward on foot; and because of his refusal he struck him piteously. Friends, however, continued to sit still; upon which, the magistrate with all his train, not being able to prevail in their purpose, returned to Aberdeen, and the Friends to their respective dwelling places. But, what was remarkable, the first object that was presented to this persecutor on reaching his own house, was his son, who had by a fall broken his arm, and in the very same time that the father had been using his arm to strike the harmless servant of the Lord; which circumstances, thus coinciding, so awakened the conscience of this person, that he said, (and afterward told it to some Friends,) *he should never strike a Quaker again.*

We return to our worthy, and now, infirm *Diarist*, Alexander Jaffray, who at this period laboured under much affliction with a quinsy; for some time he could not speak, nor scarcely eat or drink, insomuch as to be given over for death by all that beheld him. Yet, while in that state, he signified by writing, *the steadfastness of his faith in God;* and also his belief, that he should yet be preserved for further service to the Lord and his Truth; which prediction the sequel fully verified. It is said, that, at that juncture, a cer-

tain female, a noted professor, was much impressed, observing the calmness, resignation, and faith evinced by this devoted Christian, in an hour which was judged to be his last, and his unshaken firmness in the testimony which he had received to bear; hereupon, she went to one of the ministers of the city, and asked, whether they durst deny that Jaffray had once been a truly gracious man. They said, they would not deny it. "Then," said she, "either Quakerism must be a right way, or else your doctrine false, who say, there is no total nor final fall from true grace; for he is dying, confirming that way."

Shortly after, on the 11th of the 9th month, 1668, he was taken from his own house at Kingswells, in a sickly, debilitated condition, and carried by three messengers to Banff prison, at the instigation of the Bishop of Aberdeen, under the pretence of a fine of six hundred merks, formerly imposed upon him by the High Commission Court, for suffering religious meetings at his house, contrary to their order. Thus, the Bishop and those termed clergy discovered the malignity of their disposition, in imprisoning this faithful man thirty miles distant from his habitation; which, to him in a delicate and enfeebled state, proved no less than three days' journey. He was there detained prisoner nine months and sixteen days, to his great expense and detriment, some of his family being mostly with him, as well as to the endangering of his life; for he might have died there, had not the civil power relieved him from ecclesiastical tyranny; the King's Privy Council giving order for his release, without his paying any thing whatever for the fine, or for fees or charges, neither of which he could conscientiously have defrayed.

It was during this his meek endurance, and par-

ticipation of the sufferings of Christ, that Alexander Jaffray addressed an epistle to the Bishop, who had thus been a willing instrument in occasioning his unrighteous bondage. It is here given, though somewhat condensed in parts.

"To Patrick Scougal.

"Not in my own will, am I thus drawn forth, but in the will and authority of the living God, to warn thee to beware of persecution,—to beware of oppression!

"It was reported of thee, at one time, that thou wouldst not be, as others, in the use of these 'the instruments of a foolish shepherd.' Zech. xi. 15, 16. But, if any simplicity of that kind have been truly found with thee, how is it, that thou hast so sinfully betrayed it, by countenancing and approving the actions of those, who, while absolute in power, drove so furiously, as to make themselves, and the highest censures of their church, slighted and scorned!

"Will not every judicious and seriously sober person, find more cause now than ever, thus to judge of them and their proceedings, and still more so of thy concurrence with them; while the weight of your indignation is so mainly turned against that sober, harmless people, *the witnesses of Jesus Christ*, in scorn called Quakers? they, above all others, being most falsely charged with owning blasphemous and heretical tenets, and such abominable practices as their soul abhors; who have by no means been wanting in vindication of themselves, both by word and writing, from such charges.

"But, so greatly hath iniquity prevailed, that men are not ashamed thus to *detain the Truth of God in unrighteousness;* not only obscuring and hiding that

which we gave forth for the clearing of our principles and practices in these respects, and which they themselves called for at our hands; but, in order to keep us in disgust among the people, still make it their work to exclaim against us, as though they knew nothing to the contrary, but we were guilty of the very same things. In due time, however, God will arise and judge for these things; yea, sad is the judgment already meted out, although it be not discerned by you.

"With regard to thy proceedings towards myself in particular, (some things as to my bodily weakness considered,) it will be found, that this present imprisonment, and the usage I am meeting with, may very warrantably be termed, cruel severity and oppression. But, I am not intending to mention this, or to take notice of thy hand herein, further than my testimony for the Lord and his Truth is concerned in it.

"And therefore, finding that thou, and some others, interested persons, who act by thy order, endeavour to weaken this my testimony, by affirming, that my present sufferings are only occasioned by my own wilfulness, or my relations' neglect, who, by paying a little money, might have prevented the same;—to undeceive thee and them herein, I find it my duty to tell thee, I am engaged upon far other grounds than those of wilfulness or peevishness, *to decline paying, or in any way to assent to the payment of that money*,—even, on that of a real and well-grounded fear of God. For, as thou well know'st, that fine was incurred, not for any crime or guiltiness, but *for my testimony to the work of God* imposed upon me. And, *to do any thing to weaken this*, either by paying, or permitting to be paid on my behalf, any part of that

money, would be *a very betraying of the cause of God* into the hands of its enemies."

"Thus do I warrantably and truly judge of this matter, however thou or others may conclude, through the darkness that is in you, *as to a discernment of the work of God in this day, and what is required of the true witnesses of it.* I can truly say, my own particular case should not have been so much as mentioned, were it not *for the sake of my testimony*, which *above my natural life, and all that is on that account dear to me, I desire to preserve full and entire.* God hath so overruled, and I know that he will continue to overrule, the sharpest of my sufferings, to his own glory and my soul's advantage, and hath likewise so overruled your designs therein; that, through his grace, I am made willing, (so far as I am alone concerned,) to pity and freely forgive both them, and thee in particular, who hast so mainly acted in this matter; for which, most assuredly, you will have before God to answer.

"And this, further, I may not forbear to tell thee. Such severity against the people called Quakers, will not produce that which thou and others intend by it. For, though ye should be permitted to bring many more than myself *to die in prison;* (—as, how many for this, the cause and work of God, not loving their lives unto death, have been cheerfully brought thereto;) yet, shall *that* only tend to the further service and advancement of our testimony, which is indeed gloriously come forth, and shall further, to the terror and astonishment of all opposers.

"Alexander Jaffray the elder."

"From the Tolbooth in the town of Banff,
the 4th day of the 11th month, 1668."

While in this place of confinement, Alexander Jaffray also wrote "A Testimony to the Truth, given forth for the good of all to whom it may come; more particularly intended for the magistrates and inhabitants of the shire and town of Banff." This paper, which is dated the 24th of the 1st month, 1669, and chiefly consists of general exhortation and warning, he gave in with his own hand before a great head court of that shire, which sat in a room adjoining his prison-chamber, having also distributed some copies of it among them.

About this time, Lilias Skene, wife of Alexander Skene, one of the magistrates of Aberdeen, a woman held in high estimation there for her religious attainments, and especially by George Meldrum the minister before mentioned, was brought under a great concern of mind to join herself in society with the despised "Quakers." A material circumstance attending her convincement merits observation. While her mind was deeply exercised in a serious inquiry after the way of Truth, she found her progress impeded by notions and prepossessions against that people, industriously instilled by the preachers into her mind, and into the minds of others of their hearers;—as, *that they denied the Scriptures, and did not pray in the name of Jesus.* This impediment was removed in the following manner. She happened to be taken ill, and kept her chamber, in an apartment, under the same room where Barbara Forbes dwelt. Barbara Forbes, it may be remembered, was noticed by Jaffray in his Diary, at page 127, as an individual particularly favoured of the Lord, and endeavouring to live in communion with him. Since that time, she had found her way into fellowship with the Friends, having measurably arrived at that difficult attainment, which

Jaffray desired for her—namely, that she might *behave and quiet herself as a child that is weaned of its mother.* At her house, the Friends were accustomed occasionally to meet, so near to the apartment of Lilias Skene, that she could distinctly hear what passed. Attentively listening on one occasion, she plainly heard two English women exercised both in preaching and prayer, whose lively testimonies she observed to be *full of Scripture expressions*, and their petitions put up *in the name of Christ*, as well as accompanied by his life and power. Thenceforward, she was effectually reached by the Truth, and brought under subjection to it; being also thoroughly convinced of the falsehood of those slanderous accusations, with which the preachers whom she formerly admired, had been accustomed to calumniate the Friends. See Appendix, *L.*

This valuable woman had not long entertained and adopted such a change in religious views, when her husband, Alexander Skene, from a zealous opposer of this people, became a sincere convert to their Christian principles; as did also Thomas Mercer, "late dean of guild," about the same time. The civil stations occupied by these individuals in Aberdeen, and the general repute in which they stood, appeared only to add to the alarm and indignation evinced by the ministers on occasion of such persons withdrawing from their communion. The name of Alexander Skene, in particular, has already occurred in the former part of this Work; being one of those who were sent for to Edinburgh, by a religious assembly held there in 1651, that he might be present at certain conferences on the important inquiry, as to "the causes of the Lord's controversy with the land:" we may therefore assume, that he was considered to pos-

sess some solid qualifications as a Christian professor; and yet this is hardly to be in any wise traced or discerned, in the account he gave of his own conduct on one particular occasion. For, after he had joined the Society, he related the following singular circumstance, that befell him *in the time of his ignorance and height of unsanctified zeal against Friends;* and which he desired might be remembered, as a warning instance of the providential hand of the Almighty against *a bitter, railing spirit,* which he acknowledged *then ruled in him.*—Being in company, at his own house, with one Alexander Gordon, a Nonconformist preacher, he said, *It were well to take that villain George Keith, and hang him up at the cross of Aberdeen.* Within a very few hours after he had uttered these words, he was smitten in his cheek and mouth with that complaint, called *cynicus spasmus* or *snarling* spasm, by which his mouth continually turned about; in this condition he remained for some weeks, so that the witness for God in his conscience convinced him of the justice of this visitation, for his hasty, furious speeches against that innocent person, and against Friends.

Notwithstanding this sad specimen of the outbreaking of the unregenerate nature, aggravated, as it certainly was, in one who had laid high claims to the religion of Jesus; it is still very possible, in the face of his own self-loathing, that the case, so far as regards the bitterness of the intention, might admit of some modification. For, independent of the general estimate of his character, we find his acquaintance, Robert Barclay, thus testifies of him. "Alexander Skene was a man very modest, and very averse from giving offence to others." The same author further intimates respecting him, that being over-

come by the power of Truth, in regard to the subject of spiritual worship, he found it incumbent on him to refrain from all other public modes of performing this great duty, and to join himself to us: that he also gave the reason of his change, comprehending his views in the form of short questions, which he offered to the public preachers of the city. These questions were thought fit by Robert Barclay to be inserted in his "Apology;" and being well worthy the consideration of those, who are marking the Rise and Progress of this class of Nonconformists, they are placed in the Notes. See Appendix, *M.*

But such endeavours, on the part of Friends, to explain the grounds of their conscientious dissent from the "national church," hitherto utterly failed The leaders among their opponents, desisted not on every occasion, from their attempts to excite the civil power to proceed with rigour, against them; though hitherto, through the moderation of the magistrates, without much success. For, in 1671, when the Judges visited Aberdeen on their circuit, Meldrum, whose inimical disposition towards this people has already been shown, in his sermon before the Judges, represented them, in his usual strain, *as a most dangerous and pernicious sect*, at the same time urging the exercise of the utmost severity of the law against them. Nor was he satisfied with this; but, in company with his colleague, John Menzies, he waited upon the Judges at their chambers, where they also met with the Bishop: to them they complained, that the magistrates of Aberdeen had several times broken up the Quakers' Meetings, had imprisoned, fined, and even banished some of them; and yet, were not able to suppress them. Upon which, the Judges asking, *What they would have them do further?* Menzies

"made a proposal so cruel, that the Bishop was ashamed, and the Judges would return no answer." And when some of the said people, who were cited, appeared before them, they declined passing any sentence against them, or giving any countenance to the purposes of these professed ministers of the gospel, which they clearly saw to be malicious. See Appendix, *N*.

Immediately upon the convincement of the two individuals above mentioned, Alexander Skene and Thomas Mercer, at the joint solicitation of the four ministers of Aberdeen, a sub-synod, or, perhaps, more correctly speaking, a Synod, was convened by the Bishop; which met soon after, and drawing up an address to the King's Council at Edinburgh, sent two of their number to present it; in which, they petitioned the Council, *to take some effectual course to curb and rid the land of the Quakers, who were increasing among them.* The deputies from the Synod expected to obtain some fresh order from the Council against the "Quakers," but met with fresh disappointment; the Council only referring them to a precedent Act of Parliament, which ordained, that all who withdrew "from their parish church, be admonished by the preachers before two sufficient witnesses," and then, after an absence of three successive weeks, "they be fined one eighth of their valued rents." Returning to Aberdeen, these deputies reported to the town Council, the issue of their application; upon hearing which, the provost or mayor made this remark, "What signifies all this? we had this before: take you care to do your own work, and we shall do ours." Two of them, George Meldrum and David Lyall, thereupon, immediately set about doing their part towards bringing the Act

into force against this people; and were busily engaged in performing their monitory office from house to house, when, that same night, the King's *Declaration of Indulgence to all Nonconformists*, in 1672, reached Aberdeen, and put a stop to their proceedings at that time. This was accepted as a providential deliverance by the persons, whose ruin they sought.

The Declaration of Indulgence came very seasonably to prevent the execution of an Act of Council, which the preachers had prevailed upon the magistrates of Aberdeen to pass; by which they had resolved, "*that no Quaker should be made a burgess or freeman of that city,*" and that "*whosoever received a Quaker into his house, without leave of the magistrate, should be fined five shillings. And that if any person should let a house for Quakers, either to meet or dwell in, he should be fined five hundred merks Scots money, or* £28. 2s. 6d. sterling.

About the same time, the people called Quakers in this kingdom received relief, in a case of conscience, in which they, in common with their brethren in other parts, were greatly exposed to suffering. It was the custom and legal practice of Scotland, in suing for a debt, where proof failed, to put the defendant to clear himself upon oath: this exposed the Friends, who could not swear at all, to be made a prey, by ill-designing persons prosecuting them frequently for unjust claims. The Judges, perceiving the advantage this conscientious scruple gave their antagonists in such suits, and regarding the case with that equity which became their station, humanely determined, that in such cases a simple declaration of the truth should be accepted from that people: a favour they had not then obtained in England.

But, as they did not fail to admire that providen-

tial Goodness, through whose hand every blessing flows towards his children; so could they do no less, than notice the remarkable interposition of the same overruling power in another direction; either by unexpectedly baffling the designs of the persecutors, or by weakening their hands in various respects: sometimes, even constraining them to penitence, at other times, in an awful manner cutting short the lives of those, that still proceeded in their wickedness. Several instances are on record of this description; some as regards the persecuting preachers and magistrates of the day.—Among others, James Skene, who was generally known by the name of *White James*, to distinguish him from a very abusive and wicked man of the same name, called *Black James*, took great delight in inventing malicious slanders against Friends. On one occasion, whilst he was repeating some wicked verses, which he had composed, on purpose to defame a worthy and innocent person, he was *in that instant*, suddenly struck down, as one dead, and was for some time deprived of his senses. When he recovered, he acknowledged the just judgment of God upon him, confessed the offence he had committed against this innocent people, and gave proof of repentance by abstaining from such practices.—Alexander Gordon, professedly a minister of the gospel, procured the imprisonment of George Keith for preaching the Truth in the grave-yard at Old Deer, and caused him, with another Friend, to be kept all night in a very filthy dungeon, called the Thieves-hole, where there was no window, either for light or air; he was immediately after cut off by death in a sudden and surprising manner.—Nor should the case of Robert Petrie, provost or mayor of Aberdeen, be altogether omitted; who, at the furious instigations of his brother-in-law, John Menzies, and the other

stated preachers in Aberdeen, had been very violent against Friends; often breaking up their meetings, and causing them to be roughly dragged away to prison. This same magistrate, some years after, on account of some public transactions in the Convention of burroughs, in which he thought himself altogether innocent, was ordered to be imprisoned at Edinburgh, fined in a thousand pounds, and declared incapable of public office: but further,—he was conveyed to Aberdeen, the scene of his unmerciful conduct, and there affronted by being himself imprisoned in the very same place, where he so often had had the persons of his worthy fellow-citizens cruelly detained. So sensibly, however, was his conscience touched by this act of providential retribution, that he very ingenuously confessed to some Friends, "How just is this upon me, for causing honest men to be so unjustly imprisoned, that I should be thus put into this same place myself! But I hope I shall never meddle with any of you again all my life."

Although much occasion remains for us all, in humility and fear, to look well to our own standing, rather than improperly to dive into the counsels of unsearchable Wisdom respecting others; yet surely, in regard to cases like these, we are bound with reverence to acknowledge *the hand behind the scene*, even that eternal Justice and Truth which has declared, "He that covereth his sins shall not prosper: but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy. Happy is the man that feareth always: but he that hardeneth his heart shall fall into mischief." "He that is perverse in his ways shall fall at once." "He that being often reproved, hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy." Prov. 28 and 29.

CHAPTER V.

1669 DEATH OF MARGARET MOLLESON—HER DAUGHTER BECOMES THE WIFE OF ROBERT BARCLAY—A MONTHLY AND A HALF-YEARLY MEETING ESTABLISHED AT URY—OBSERVATIONS ON CHURCH DISCIPLINE; AND ROBERT BARCLAY'S TREATISE ON THAT SUBJECT—1672: HIS DEEP EXERCISE RESPECTING THE INHABITANTS OF ABERDEEN—REMARKS ON THE ZEAL AND CARE OF FRIENDS IN SEVERAL RESPECTS.

The preceding chapter closed with the exhibition of some dark and gloomy shades of human character. We have now to turn to a brighter scene:—and strong indeed is the contrast. Truly, "The way of the wicked is as darkness;" but we are about to contemplate the life and latter end of one whose path was as "the path of the just,"—and this is said to resemble "the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." Prov. iv. 18, 19.

On the 16th of the 10th month, 1669, a year or two earlier than the date of some of the last foregoing occurrences, the little company of Friends at Aberdeen, had to resign one of their earliest and most exemplary members to that state of rest and fruition beyond the grave, which can never more be interrupted by sin or sorrow. This individual, Margaret Molleson, it may be remembered, has been before named, as the wife of Gilbert Molleson, a magistrate. In her youth she was an inquirer after the best people, and joined herself in worship with the most strict and refined in profession then in that city. But, it having pleased God, who beheld her hungering desires after himself and his righteousness, to send some witnesses and

servants, called Quakers, from England into the north of Scotland, who preached the everlasting gospel; she was among the first in those parts that received their message.

Coming to taste the unspeakable love of God in Christ Jesus, she delighted often to retire therein, out of the encumbering cares of her family and business; and although her love to her husband, and cares of her many children, were great, yet her chief source of peace and joy, her chief desire and care, was to draw nearer and nearer unto the true and living God, the Beloved of her wrestling soul. For this end, were the public meetings of the people called Quakers her frequent place of resort, and she continued "instant" in more private approaches to the Lord; insomuch that her husband, who was not at that time in profession with Friends, had cause to say, *her knees were worn with kneeling at prayer.* For about four months before her departure, when he awoke in the night season, he usually found her in meditation; and after her decease, he said before several people who came to visit him, that he had lost a true Mary and a Martha, none knowing how great his loss was, so that he could not but deeply lament it.

On the 16th of the 10th month, 1669, in the morning, she was suddenly taken ill, and in the evening of the same day died in childbirth, having been for some time before made sensible that her end was approaching. Yet her physician, not supposing that she had been in so dangerous a state, said to her, *She needed not fear—his life for hers;* to which she answered, "Fear? I have no cause; but thou wilt see, thou art mistaken." At this time, many relations and neighbours being in her chamber, were in much

sorrow; among whom was an eminent professor, and an old acquaintance of hers, who desired those about her to pray for her; which she hearing, when others thought she had been dying, answered, "My Advocate is with the Father, and my peace is made: I am feeding at a table none of you perceiveth." Some lamenting much her being likely to be taken away from her nine children, who were all around her bed, she said, "As many of them as shall truly fear the Lord, and follow him, shall be provided for:"—which has been since truly fulfilled. And, fixing her eyes on her son Gilbert, who was then about ten years of age, she said, in a heavenly frame of mind, "Truth is precious; cleave to it!" Observing the people in her chamber lamenting much, she said to them, "Settle yourselves, and be stayed in your minds, for ye are now to see the last!" Then, in a sense that she was about to reap the fruit of all her spiritual labours, she declared, "Now interruption is to cease, and my eternal joy is already begun!"

Soon after this she expired.

A few months subsequently to the removal of this exemplary character, one of her daughters, Christian, was married to Robert Barclay. She had, through much suffering and hardship, in her sixteenth year, publicly embraced the testimonies held by Friends, and was one, whose *name* and *character* truly coincided; a daughter worthy of such a mother, and a wife worthy of such a husband. As there will be further occasion to speak of her in the course of these Memoirs, her character shall not here be enlarged on; yet it may be interesting to some readers, to contemplate the grounds and motives for entering on the

marriage state, which appeared to influence such a mind as that of the "*Apologist*" at the age of twenty-one years,—at least so far as these are developed in the following letter addressed to the worthy object of his choice.

"28th of 1st month, 1669.

"Dear Friend,

"Having for some time past had it several times upon my mind, to have saluted thee in this manner of writing, and to enter into a literal correspondence with thee, so far as thy freedom could allow; I am glad that this small occasion hath made way for the beginning of it.

"The love of thy converse, the desire of thy friendship, the sympathy of thy way, and meekness of thy spirit, has often, as thou mayst have observed, occasioned me to take frequent opportunity to have the benefit of thy company; in which, I can truly say, I have often been refreshed, and the life in me touched with a sweet unity, which flowed from the same in thee,—tender flames of pure love have been kindled in my bosom towards thee, and praises have sprung up in me to the God of our salvation, for what he hath done for thee! Many things in the natural will concur to strengthen and encourage my affection towards thee, and make thee acceptable unto me; but that which is *before all and beyond all,* is, that I can say in the fear of the Lord, that I have received a charge from him to love thee, and for that I know his love is much towards thee; and his blessing and goodness is and shall be unto thee, so long as thou abidest in a true sense of it.

"I write not these things to draw out thy mind, but as being with me so to do; that thou mayst

rather be humbled, and love the more to abide in the low, meek, quiet, satisfied, peaceable, contented habitation, from which there is *safety that cannot be hurt, and peace that cannot be broken,*—a place of rest and quietness, where the children of light and babes of the household of faith have fellowship together, and embrace one another in the pure love, which is mysterious, and hid from such as are led away by the foolish loves and fond affections of this world. [For] when any that bear the name of Truth, or have at any time tasted of the good thereunto belonging, are entangled [herein,] they cannot but receive great hurt, and much damage to their spiritual prosperity and advancement. Against [this] it is my study to watch, and my earnest desire to be enabled so to do. My friendship and respect for thee doth engage me to offer the same advice to thee; because thou and I are those, amongst the small handful in this place, whose private condition puts in a capacity to be obvious to temptation of that kind; by yielding to which, I fear it will be found, some have received hurt. That such as are behind, may be preserved from the like danger, is the cry of my soul. I am sure it will be our great gain so to be kept, that all of us may abide in the pure love of God; in the sense and drawings whereof, we can only discern and know how to love one another.

"In the present flowings thereof, I have truly solicited thee, desiring and expecting, that, in the same, thou mayst feel and judge.

"Robert Barclay."

About this time, the jealousy and enmity of magistrates, preachers, and people in and around Aberdeen, began to grow very strong towards the Friends;

so that, at the Monthly Meeting, the rabble, being stirred up by some envious spirits, had nearly laid violent hands upon John Swintoune, Patrick Livingston, and some others who happened to be there. But when Robert Barclay's marriage took place, their fury was yet more heightened, that being the first proceeding of the kind that had been performed in the city. The couple were married in the usual simple but solemn manner, before many witnesses of various classes, and at the house of Gilbert Molleson, the father of the young woman, who then filled the office of bailie or magistrate. The public preachers of the place, thought their authority so slighted by this act, and were so exasperated at it, that by the Bishop's means they procured letters to summon Robert Barclay before the Privy Council for an unlawful marriage. "This matter was however so overruled of the Lord," as the Friends of Ury express it, "that they never had power to put their summons into execution, so as to do us any prejudice."

On another occasion, in the 1st month, 1670, a number of Friends being collected to hold their Monthly Meeting, the magistrates were further incited to send officers to disperse the assembly. With violence they conveyed all the men to the Council-house, where the magistrates used their endeavours to dissuade them from the practice; and taking a list of those who came from the country, dismissed them. Upon this, they straightway returned to their own company, the time of their gathering not yet being expired; there they found the women Friends, together with other people, attempting to perform the sacred and imperative duty of worship. They had not long been there, however, when the officers appeared again, and with greater fury than before

dragged them back to the Council-house, where the provost and Council reprimanded them for contumacious resistance of civil authority, using much threatening language. But Friends were preserved in a tranquil and innocent boldness, so that "neither the big words nor yet the barbarous deeds" of their opponents, could make them flinch from an honest confession of the true reasons for their conduct. One of them saying in defence of their alleged disobedience to magistracy, that it was *better to obey God than man*, the provost scoffingly answered, "So we must all, forsooth, be apostles and disciples." On this, John Hampton, a poor illiterate young lad, observed, that it seemed he did not reckon himself a disciple of Christ, seeing he thought it such presumption in others.—They were all committed to the lower Tolbooth, and at night closely confined, excepting Robert Barclay and Patrick Livingston, who were set at liberty, and were very loath to part from their brethren. Among their number, are the names of William Gellie and James Forbes, the latter having once held the rank of major in the army.

Robert Barclay settling with his father at Ury, a Monthly Meeting was established there soon after, for transacting the affairs of the little rising church in that district; and also a more public or general meeting, held half-yearly, the first of which was convened on the opening of the year 1669, which day was remarkable for the convincement "of several people of good account."

With regard to meetings of the above description, it may be observed, that in this Society, as in that of the first converts to Christianity, ecclesiastical government, or what is often by Friends emphatically termed "the order of Truth," arose with the occa-

sions for it. If the poor required to be cared for and helped, this would have the attention of the gathered church; if any failed of the grace of God, and obeyed not the gospel, these would be admonished, and their restoration diligently sought; but if such labour of love took no effect, the terms of fellowship being broken, there would remain no alternative for those who might desire to be of Christ, but to withdraw from such brother, and acknowledge him not, in a religious sense, by so endearing a tie. In like manner, would other subjects of interesting concern demand the watchful eye and wise decision of a body, whose Head "is not the author of confusion but of peace." In England, such measures had been generally adopted among Friends in the year 1667, at the recommendation of George Fox; but it does not appear that in Aberdeen any settled plan of this kind took effect, until the commencement of the year 1672; when, (to use the language of one of their ancient records)—"Friends in Aberdeen and thereabout, being increased and prospered of the Lord, both as to their number and growth in the Truth, did, in an unanimous love and zeal for the blessed Truth, and its work and service, set up a Monthly Men's Meeting for affairs, in administering true and righteous judgment among themselves in all things, and taking care of the poor, &c.; and appointed a register or record book, to be hereafter carefully kept, for recording what is *condescended upon* at these meetings: to which book eleven men Friends and fourteen women did set down their names, as belonging to that meeting."

The legitimate objects and extent of church government, appear to have been very early and clearly made out to the view of some Friends; indeed, no sooner were they constituted as a distinct religious

body, than the need of established order became evident to them, and their minds were enlightened and instructed upon the subject. A strong instance of this, is furnished us in the individual experience of Robert Barclay; who, not many years after his own convincement, and at a time when the revival of such primitive and wholesome discipline, might be said comparatively to be in a state of infancy, wrote his admirable Treatise in its favour. The original title, as it stood at length, was, "The Anarchy of the Ranters, and other Libertines, the Hierarchy of the Romanists, and other pretended Churches, equally refused and refuted, in a twofold Apology for the Church and people of God, called in derision Quakers. Wherein they are vindicated from those that accuse them of confusion and disorder on the one hand, and from such as calumniate them with tyranny and imposition on the other; showing, that as the true and pure principles of the gospel are restored by their testimony, so is also the ancient apostolical order of the church of Christ, reestablished among them, and settled upon its right basis and foundation." This piece appears to have been written about the year 1674, the author being then not above twenty-six years of age. The compiler of "A short Account of the Life and Writings of Robert Barclay," says respecting it,—"The work has passed through several impressions; and as its title when abridged to the few words, 'The Anarchy of the Ranters,' conveys little or no information of its contents, the Yearly Meeting lately ordered an additional title to be prefixed, namely, 'A Treatise on Christian Discipline.' It is a work worthy of general perusal; and particularly claims the attention of all persons, who think it their duty to be active in supporting and executing the discipline of

the church." To the above may be subjoined the observation of the writer of his life in the "Biographia Brittanica,"—"A very curious and instructive work, in which he with much solidity and perspicuity lays open the causes, and displays the consequences of superstition on the one hand, and fanaticism on the other, clearing the Quakers from both." It is unquestionable, that the soundness and cogency of his arguments, though often attempted to be overthrown, have stood unshaken; while the views of those, who, from one generation to another, have been rightly engaged in this respect to uphold "the ark and the testimony," have been not only confirmed but enlarged by consulting so sterling a production. See Appendix, Note *O*.

With regard to this yet youthful author, some evidence has been given, how early and how powerfully his soul was affected with a sense of the Truth, and its inestimable value. Though surrounded by temporal blessings, and now enjoying that chief one, a pious and devoted partner, it does not appear that, on such accounts, he considered himself at liberty to surrender up the ripening powers of manhood to selfish ease or supineness; but rather, that he received these gifts as so many tokens of Divine favour, as marks of promotion to further trust and responsibility, as fresh signals for grateful, vigorous engagement in the warfare of life. Indeed, (to use the language of his grandson, from whose Memoir much of this delineation is obtained,) as though he had a foresight of the shortness of his time in this state of being, he "*posted*" through those affairs, which he thought himself concerned to perform, with equal alacrity, wisdom, and meekness.

Having now described one of the productions of his pen, and at a preceding page having given some ac-

count of his "Apology," it may here be further noticed, that all his publications, together comprising a folio volume of nine hundred pages, were put forth in the course of the first nine years after his marriage, between the age of twenty-two and thirty-one years. Among his other works, the "Catechism and Confession of Faith" still continues to be from time to time reprinted, and is found to be serviceble in explaining the religious tenets held by the Society. It first appeared in 1673; previous to which time, as we have seen, the Friends were confidently represented as despising and denying the Bible: this compilation, formed entirely from the words of the Sacred Volume, was intended to disprove such groundless assertions. "As the days in which we live," observes his biographer, "are marked by bold attempts to vilify the Scriptures; and as, even under *our profession*, there have been persons, who have endeavoured to bring them into discredit, thinking to succeed the more easily with a people, who believe in the superior excellence of the Spirit; it is peculiarly interesting to behold in what light Robert Barclay, the able asserter of that superior excellence, viewed the Scriptures. It is further interesting, because some persons have imagined, that Robert Barclay himself countenanced opinions not favourable to the Divine authority of the Scriptures. His works, nevertheless, teem with references to Scripture authority. He never shrinks from the test of Scripture, on disputed points; and in the present work, he declares, that it is his design to let the simple words of Scripture, uncommented on, be the advocates of the cause which he espouses."

It was not, however, by his pen alone, that he endeavoured to serve the world and his Maker; he acted and suffered, like a true reformer, for the ho-

nour of the great name. Yet, since he kept only a slight diary of the transactions of his life, with still less allusion in it to his religious feelings, we are deprived of much that might have evinced the extent of his views of dedication, and his fruitfulness as a branch of the true Vine.

In common with many of his fellow-labourers in the glorious cause of spirituality and real holiness, Robert Barclay came under that humbling description of exercise and service, which often engaged them to testify, in various ways, against the unsound, mixed, and even corrupt profession of religion, in that day so much prevailing. We are informed, he gave up to obey the call to some hard and weighty requisitions of this kind; sometimes visiting the congregations of such people, with a word of warning or rebuke. On one occasion in particular, about the beginning of the year 1672, it was his concern, under a strong sense of duty, *to pass through three of the principal streets of Aberdeen, clothed in sackcloth,* after the manner of some of the ancient prophets, and with similar motives. After he had thus become "a spectacle to men," he wrote a short address to the inhabitants of that place, explaining the nature of this exercise, which the reader will find is given in the Notes. See Appendix, *P.* The sweet savour appearing throughout this paper, the consistency of the whole with sound reason, sobriety, and Christianity, it is presumed, must at least call forth, in the perusal, some sympathetic feeling from hearts that glow with love to souls, and who long that Zion's prosperity may with increasing brightness go forth.

This action is branded, by the writer of his life in the "General Biography," with the name of enthusiasm, and is even stigmatized with marks of con-

tempt by his eulogist in the "Biographia Brittanica;" by each of them, however, his sincerity is admitted. But whatever may be the impression made on different readers, according to their particular habits or mode of thinking, with regard to this extraordinary act of an individual, whose character stands too high to be attainted by evil imputation; one point is clear,—that the everlasting Father of his people, has in all ages deputed some of his children to be as delegated shepherds over the flocks of his heritage, and as lights in the midst of "a crooked and perverse generation." To these *he has ever committed a testimony, of some description or other*, to be borne for his Truth's sake,—a standard to be upheld, in some especial manner, against the course of the prince of darkness, whose machinations and whose maxims are for the most part closely interwoven with, and wrought into, the present constitution of mankind. Of what primary importance, then, is it, that each one of us should give the closest attendance upon those things, that obviously make for our own peace of mind, and individual progress in the life of Christ; rather than presume, in such a case as that before us, to define the precise line of testimony that may or may not be meted out to *another;* especially where the uniform tenour of conduct and conversation, must be allowed to place *that man in very near connexion with his own Master*, to whom he must, even in this life, either stand or fall.

But to bring to a close these digressive reflections.—In the general history of this period, there are circumstances recorded, which strongly mark the decrepid state of vital religion and sound scriptural morality, then existing as well in England as in Scotland; and it is not surprising, that such wisdom and mercy as

rules or overrules all things here below, should raise up *remarkable instruments*, to effect his own beneficent ends,—by restoring safe paths to walk in, by improving the tone of piety, and thus renewing this portion of the face of his earth. There was surely great occasion for these to be men of plain, uncompromising stamp, that they might effectually do the work assigned,—as it were, to *thresh the very mountains*, to break up the tough and rugged ground, and in other respects, as they might be commissioned, prepare anew the way of the Lord.

The public labourers raised up in this corner of the vineyard, on which our attention is more exclusively fixed, may be said to have been by no means few in number, in proportion to that of the members generally; and especially considering the small extent of district over which Friends were distributed. Nor did the Lord of the vineyard spare to assign them instrumental help in good measure *from other quarters;* the records of their meetings often stating the names of numerous visitors from England, whom the love of Christ and love to souls, constrained to pass up and down among the flock, confirming their spirit in these times of trial. On one occasion, it would seem, that at a meeting for worship, such as usually was held introductory to the consideration of their church affairs, the showers of doctrine were so largely dispensed, as to occupy nearly the space of seven hours, and thus to preclude for that time the transaction of all other appointed business.

As "a city that is compact together," or rather as a besieged people within it, vigilance and alacrity, with united cooperation for the safety and for the welfare one of another, sometimes pleasingly shone forth at these meetings, as well as zeal for the spread of the

dominion of grace and truth. When, in a particular case, there had transpired some "appearance of a breach and separation" in one or more of their number, the others speedily and simultaneously met with the party, all exceptions were thoroughly heard, and "a plain reckoning" ensued; after which, as the record states, "to the praise of the Lord's free goodness and mercy to his poor people, all differences were taken away, with much brokenness and tenderness of heart, in embracing each other: for which blessed opportunity, Friends publicly and jointly, in his own Spirit and life, returned praises to the Lord." Such a successful illustration of the true labour of love, in the spirit of meekness and of wisdom, is not held up as one peculiarly confined to *that* generation;—by no means;—rather as an additional encouraging proof of the preciousness of brotherly admonition, order, and concord in the body of Christ.

So, with regard to the promotion of the cause of Christianity, and the furtherance of those that were looking towards Zion, with faces thitherward turned, it is pleasing to find many instances, where Friends, in the line of unreserved dedication, have held themselves open, with all readiness, to entertain and give way to clear intimations of their duty in these respects. Hence we find a minister in good estimation, George Gray of Caskieben, about eight miles from Aberdeen, informing Friends at their Monthly Meeting, of a people in his neighbourhood, who *thirsted after* the assemblies of this despised Society, although they could not as yet "well digest silent meetings;" and what he desired was, that Friends would consider their case, "that if so be, the Lord may be pleased to move some Friends [of Aberdeen] to come thither;" a meeting having, as he informed them, been already

appointed to be held twice in the month at John Glennie's at Colliehill Mill on that account.

Connected with this last remark, is another circumstance worthy of preservation, as follows: "John Forbes, merchant in Ellon, having left the preachers and public meetings there, and come into the mid-monthly meeting, showed Friends, that he had been before the Kirk Sessions, being cited for forsaking their ordinances, as they call them; and that he had asserted their minister to be no minister of Christ, neither these ordinances those of Christ's; upon which he was cited to the Presbytery of Ellon: and withal, having read a paper he had drawn, with which Friends have good union, wherein many pertinent Scriptures were cited for several points of our testimony against the common doctrine of the nation—Friends thought fit to go to Ellon next First day, and keep a meeting in his house." Accordingly, "R. Barclay, G. Keith, D. Falconer, T. Mercer, A. Harper, J. Cowie, T. Milne, J. Skene, A. Somervill, and A. Skene went all to Ellon, and kept a meeting in John Forbes' house from half-hour to twelve till the fourth hour in the afternoon; where we had a good meeting, the people not only filling the room, but flocking about the door and windows, which were purposely opened unto them." About one month after this, John Forbes is requested on behalf of Friends, to look out for some more convenient place for the congregation who assemble at his house every First day, *one half* of their number not being able, it is said, to gain admittance.

CHAPTER VI.

1672: THE "CLERGY" AND MAGISTRATES OF ABERDEEN, FURTHER INCENSED AGAINST THIS PEOPLE, PROCURE THE DEMOLITION OF THE WALLS OF THEIR BURIAL-GROUND, AND THE DISINTERMENT OF THEIR DEAD—LETTER OF WILLIAM DEWSBURY—JOHN SWINTOUNE AND ROBERT BARCLAY IMPRISONED AT MONTROSE, TOGETHER WITH SOME FRIENDS AT THAT PLACE, FOR HOLDING A MEETING: THEIR ADDRESS TO THE MAGISTRATES—1673: ANDREW JAFFRAY CONVINCED, AND SEVERAL MORE—THE PROVOST AND MAGISTRATES OF ABERDEEN STRENUOUSLY IMPORTUNE THE KING'S COUNCIL AGAINST THE "QUAKERS"—THEY ARE EXAMINED AND FINED—HUGH NEILSON'S DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE FINES, BY A PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT—DEATH OF ALEXANDER JAFFRAY—HIS WIFE'S CONVINCEMENT AND DEATH.

In a preceding page, allusion was made to the defective state of moral and religious feeling, so variously developed in the history of the times now under notice. In connexion with this subject, one sad illustration is here to be introduced, of the length to which men may be carried, when they release themselves from the obligations of Christianity and a civilized state.

About the beginning of the year 1672, several persons both in Aberdeen and its vicinity, withdrawing from the religion established by law, the public preachers of the city were so incensed as to procure, by their influence with the magistrates, the pulling down and demolishing the walls of a burial-ground, which the people called Quakers had purchased with their own money; and wherein a child of Thomas Milne had been a few days before interred. The body of this child, after three days' interment, was, by order of the provost and bailies, taken out of the ground, and carried to a village called Futtee, or Foot of Dee,

where they had a grave made for it. But a rumour being raised by some malicious persons, as if Friends had, to deceive the magistrates, taken out the child's body, and filled the coffin with somewhat else, they ordered the coffin to be broken open; in doing which, the corpse was injured, and actually was made to bleed though so long dead. In the same year in which this piece of wanton inhumanity was acted, an unusual mortality is stated to have taken place among the children of that place, such as had not occurred in the memory of any person then resident there. The very next day after the raising of the body of this child, it so happened, that John Scott, one of those magistrates who had been the most active instrument in this affair, had his own favourite grandchild unintentionally killed by the servant, which occasioned much outcry of distress in that family. Going on in his usual course of wickedness, among similar acts, often causing the walls of the burial-place and premises to be pulled down, &c. he was, shortly after, suspended in his career by a fall which fractured his leg. *They, nevertheless, continued to remove every corpse that was interred in the same ground; nor did the barbarous practice cease,* till a representation being made to the King's Council, a secret check was given them, and this more than ordinary inhumanity put a stop to. See Appendix, *Q*.

In the latter part of this year, Alexander Skene produced at the Monthly Meeting a letter, addressed to Friends in Scotland, from William Dewsbury; the minister by whose instrumentality, it will be recollected, Alexander Jaffray and others at Aberdeen, were first induced more fully to adopt, as well as publicly to avow in that city, the principles of Friends. Without doubt, there were not any likely to appreciate such

epistolary counsel more duly than these, who could regard the writer of it as their spiritual father, one that, to a certain extent, had *in Christ Jesus begotten them through the gospel,*—themselves also as *his work in the Lord.*—A copy of the letter is preserved, as follows.

"Warwick, 29th of 8th month, 1672.

"My dear Friends,

"All watch and wait in the light of the Lord, that every thought be judged down, that is contrary to the light; then will *the cross* be laid to the ground of your own thoughts, and *the true baptism of Christ* [be] known, which will *bury* you in such deep humility and sense of *the free mercy of the Lord,* [as] to *raise you up in the living faith,* to reign over your own thoughts and wills. Then will you be *born again* into a pure subjection to the pure light, [to the] thoughts and *will of God, which is our sanctification* and perfection of glory manifested within us, &c.: and so will you witness *the new and holy birth,* which makes *self of no reputation,* neither boasteth in any thing it doth; but followeth the Lord in his pure leadings, to serve him and his people in love, in whatever he calls into, to the *perfecting of his praises,* and the comfort of his people for ever!

"In which life, feel the yearning bowels of your brother towards you, who are truly pure in spirit; for, the unspeakable mercies of the Most High God, is your inheritance for ever! The Almighty God keep all your *garments clean* in his holy power, and in it exercise you, to the *building up one another in your most holy faith;* that, in the pure chaste love, you may grow up *in the unity of the spirit and bond of peace,* to shine forth *as the morning stars* to enlighten the people in that nation. Oh! be faithful, my dear

Friends; for the Lord hath a great people in Scotland; for whom I, with many of our brethren, have travailed, in jeopardy of our lives, in years past, *casting our bread upon the waters*, with hopes to *find it after many days*. And seeing God hath called you to be *the first fruits*, and to make you *a blessing*, as you wait to be ordered of the Lord, as before written,—then will my great expectation be answered in the behalf of the holy Seed, whom my soul loves in that land,—and remains your dear brother in the light, thoughts, and will of our God, for ever!

"William Dewsbury."

"Read this in the fear of the Lord, and send copies amongst the meetings of his holy people in Scotland."

A transaction recorded in manuscript, as having taken place in the course of this year in the neighbourhood of Montrose, should here be brought into notice.—John Swintoune, who had been in the north, and was then on his return southwards, in conjunction with Robert Barclay, had it on their minds to be at the meeting of Friends belonging to Kinnaber and Montrose, which was proposed to be held at the latter place on the 8th of the 10th month, being the First day of the week. The circumstances in which this little company then stood, were as follows. There had been for some years a meeting for worship kept up at Kinnaber, near Montrose; but, the views held by the Society coming to be adopted by some persons at Montrose, it was deemed desirable, they should occasionally assemble in that town. During the space of at least two months before, most or all of these Friends had been detained in prison, on account of this public testimony towards God; but by an order from the King's Council at Edinburgh,

their freedom had been just then acquired. So that they were about to evince, on this the first occasion that presented after dismissal from confinement, their grateful sense of allegiance to the Majesty of heaven, by humbling themselves before His presence, who had granted them support and deliverance in the time of trouble. Thus situated, J. Swintoune and R. Barclay came to visit them, and lodged at William Napier's, where the meeting was to be held the next day. They met accordingly, and enjoyed a good season together in solemn worship; undisturbed by the magistrates, although they had declared, *they would recommit the Friends whenever they assembled after that manner.* Having separated and mostly withdrawn, the town officers entered, saying, that they had orders from the magistrates to detain them there, till their own worship should be over, it being then near three o'clock. About an hour after this, William Napier, the master of the house, was called for to the council-house, where the magistrates were then met. J. Swintoune and R. Barclay did not think fit to forsake their host, though the officer endeavoured to prevent their accompanying him. On this, they asked him, If *they* also were prisoners? he said, No: they were not called for. J. S. and R. B., however, went forward. William Napier being called up, the magistrates demanded, Whether he would still trouble their town? He asked, Wherein? They said, In having meetings in his house. He, without confessing or denying the fact, said, He hoped there was no law against the worship of God, and that *this* could be no crime. They told him, He was to go back to prison, whence he had been so lately released. J. S. and R. B., having intimated their desire to speak to the magistrates, were next called; upon which the

former, not knowing their decision with regard to Napier, addressed them to this effect: That he and his friend, coming to town the night before, were resolved to stay the next day, being the First day of the week, and took up their quarters at W. Napier's house. On which occasion, several of his friends were there; and how employed, any of the magistrates might have been witnesses, had they been so disposed; but his friends, being about to repair to their respective places of abode on their lawful occasions, were detained by their officers. The provost said, They had been at a meeting, which was contrary to law. J. S. called upon him to prove this, as they were not about to accuse themselves. The provost said, They were not going to dispute with them; and, without going aside or consulting with the rest, told them, *They* also were to go to prison; for it was clear, they were at a meeting; and if the Friends thought themselves wronged, they might complain against them. J. S. told them, Their being sent to prison was a preconcerted measure, and reasoned with them on the injustice of their proceedings, desiring them, for their own sakes, to consider further what they were doing, now that they had heard what he and his friends had to say; else they might repent it, if they sent them to prison. On this, the magistrates seemed to hesitate, and conferred together; but quickly returned, repeating, They were to go to prison. After some further demur, the Friends told the magistrates, They were not afraid of their prison; that the weight of their proceedings would come upon themselves, and reflect on their justice. They replied, It would but cost them an application to the King's Council for their release;—thereby meaning to reflect, (it was thought,) on J. S., by whose means the former release had been procured.

"On the 12th," to use the language of their record, "we found it with us to send a letter to the provost, bailies, and Council of Montrose, a copy of which hereafter follows; and now, at the writing hereof, being the 21st of the 10th month, we are in prison, quiet, and in much love together; our way being hitherto hedged up from making any application to those in supreme authority in this nation, were it but to represent the iniquity and injustice of these men's proceedings, who are filled with wrath, malice, and envy against the Seed, Christ, and those that are in Him. [Indeed] we have notice, signified under the hand of one that is somewhat friendly, that they have threatened, (in case the King's Council shall release us, which they think likely,) to *send men in disguise into our meetings to break our bones.* But the Lord is with us, and is on our side; and we are filled with quietness and contentedness here: glory to his name, his arm, his power, for ever, who hath done it!—and, indeed, it is well with us! And this is written for the satisfaction of Friends and others, *to whose hands it shall come;* desiring to be remembered by all Friends, as the dear remembrance of them is with us,—yea, of all the Friends of Truth and followers of the Lamb, far and near. And it is our purpose and resolution, in the strength of the Lord, *not to go from off this place, but as clear men;* being in all six, namely, John Swintoune, Robert Barclay, William Napier, John Milne, William Low, James Nuccoll."

The following is a copy of the letter above alluded to, addressed by them to the magistrates of Montrose —a nobly-toned and touching appeal, at once exhibiting the fortitude and patience with which Christianity would invest us.

"Friends,

"Our case being as it was, and as some of us fully represented it to you, how could you in justice deal with us as you have done,—*in the middle of winter*, to send us, whose occasions lie elsewhere, *to a cold and desolate prison?* Well! the just God beholdeth your injustice and oppression; iniquity lieth at your door, and we are to lay it upon you, and to charge you in the name of the Lord God, that you beware for the future to be found in such practices, and, in the sense that you have done evil herein, be resolved to do so no more; that, if possible, your iniquities in this and the like cases, (for this is not the first,) *may be forgiven you.* As well, also, *the thoughts of your hearts*,—which are, to banish Truth and a true people out of your coasts, or to vanquish them, by tempting them to unfaithfulness, and to forsake that testimony, which they are to bear among you—which they *must* bear, and *cannot* forbear it. You have undertaken, with many of this day, *to raise the burdensome stone*, which many have found too heavy for them, and many have dashed themselves upon it, and many have been ground to powder by it, whose remembrance is as a stink in this day! And therefore, be ye warned, to take heed, and consider in time what you have done, that, if possible, *you may find a place of repentance*, and do so no more.

"*As for us*, we are not afraid of you, nor ashamed of our testimony, and *you cannot vanquish us.* You imagine a vain thing, and you will herein weary yourselves with very vanity.

"Now, whereas you may think to cover yourselves with this [plea:] 'We are but inferior magistrates; and we must obey the laws, that require us to suppress conventicles and to punish conventiclers.'

Well, it is confessed, you are but inferior magistrates, and therefore have not *an arbitrary power;* but are to proceed according to law, when you proceed—though *they* were found blamable, who walked *willingly* after the unjust commandment. Hosea, v. 11. But, let the laws be what they may, you have proceeded herein *without and contrary to all law, and shadow of it;* and have therein manifested your injustice, and the unreasonableness of your proceedings, through your malice against the Truth and its friends. And herein lies the weight and depth of your iniquity; in which you have manifested yourselves and your spirit, and may procure the plagues and judgments of the Lord to be poured upon this town, and many may come to feel the smart of your doings. Verily, we were ashamed on your behalf, in the instant of time, and on the behalf of *our native country;* that, *in a place so considerable as this,* you should demean yourselves so unjustly, so palpably, having no shadow of a rational cover for your proceedings.

"Well! *we ask nothing of you,* but that you come to a sense of your past way, that you may not fall into the like for the future. And *as for us,* we are well contented to stay here, until the due time of our deliverance come; and our expectations, (be it known to you,) are neither *from the hills nor from the mountains, but from God alone.* Our case is committed to Him *who judges righteously!* We are, as regards our testimony and for its sake, *well contented, well pleased, well satisfied, to be here;* our bonds are not grievous to us: glory to the Lord for ever!—who *hath* not been, who *is* not wanting to us,

"John Swintoune, Robert Barclay,
"William Napier, James Nuccoll,
"John Milne, William Low."

We are not informed, in the above record, how long these sufferers for the testimony of a good conscience, were thus detained, or by what means their liberation was effected; although it may be presumed this was brought about soon after, as a minute of Aberdeen Monthly Meeting, states the release of *John Swintoune* to have taken place early in the 11th month, in consequence of an order from the King's Council, and that he was then on his way to Edinburgh, with the view of laying the case of his friends in general, before the government. See Appendix, *R.*

The convincement of Andrew, son of Alexander Jaffray, and that of several others of Aberdeen and parts adjacent, about the beginning of the year 1673, afresh excited the indignation of those termed the clergy. At their instigation, the provost, and others of the magistrates, came to a Monthly Meeting held by Friends, on the 6th of the 3rd month, and took the names of all present, both men and women; this list they forwarded by William Gordon, their agent, to the King's Council, charging him with instructions, strenuously to importune the Council against this peaceable people. His business, as it appears, he executed with the utmost assiduity. But shortly after, it happened, that he went down from Edinburgh to Leith to hear a sermon; and, in the time of it, going out of the place of worship, he was presently after found dead.

Upon the solicitations of this William Gordon, the Council, on the 1st of the 5th month, sent a summons to nineteen of this people; who accordingly appearing before them at Edinburgh on the 10th, after two sittings of the Council, were fined, and their several fines assigned to one Hugh Neilson, an apothecary of that city. While he was busying himself

in a process at law for recovering the fines, the King's Commissioners and Council issued a proclamation, remitting all penalties and fines for nonconformity, except such as were already paid, or engaged for by the parties' bond, or other security. This cleared the people called Quakers; for their principle was, neither to pay the fines, nor in any wise to compound for them; their strict observance of which, entitled them to the benefit of the above proclamation, and disappointed Hugh Neilson in his attempts against them.

Previous to the issuing of this proclamation, some of the Friends who were likely to be sufferers by the endeavours of Hugh Neilson, addressed him a letter, dated the 30th of the 7th month; in which they strongly pleaded their innocency of any crime, for which in justice they ought to be fined, urging their conscientious objection to fulfil his demand, and warning him, in solemn language, to "despise the gain of oppression." This paper is signed by Alexander Skene, David Barclay, and others. It is further stated, that this person was so wrought upon, either by the letter above alluded to, or which is more probable, by his own utter disappointment of his prey, that he exclaimed, *he should never trouble the Quakers more, for it was unhappy to have any thing to do against them.*

Thus did the Lord, who is *the keeper of his people and their shade upon their right hand*, remarkably appear in many instances of his protecting care towards those that trusted in him, some of which are not here enumerated. While, therefore, the Scriptural language is grievously true of many wicked, "When thy hand is lifted up, *they will not see*;" yet are there, in all ages, such ample proofs of providential interposition and disposal of events, as *should certainly tend* to bring about, in the hearts of those not yet utterly

hardened, that blessed crisis, when "*all* men shall fear, and shall declare the work of God; for they shall wisely consider of his doing."

We are now to approach the close of Alexander Jaffray's career, whose religious experience, developed in his Diary, has occupied so large a portion of this Work, and may be considered as having opened the very root and ground of the rise of the Society of Friends in Scotland. On the 7th of the 5th month, 1673, at the age of fifty-nine years, he was removed from among them, and from the warfare of this life, in full assurance of a glorious and immortal inheritance among the blessed of all generations.

During his illness, which lasted twelve days, he gave forth, in the presence of many Friends and others, very substantial attestation to that most excellent dispensation of gospel light and truth, unto which he had of late years been more perfectly and fully brought; in which also, he had given up with all readiness of mind to walk, and in defence of which, resignedly to suffer. Among other expressions, these following abundantly prove the blessed condition of his spirit, up to the awful crisis.

He remarked, it was his great joy and comfort in that trying hour, that ever he had been counted worthy to bear a testimony to, and suffer for that invaluable principle of *Christ's inward appearance in the hearts of the children of men, visiting all by his light, grace, and good Spirit, which convinceth of sin.* And further, that *the great judgment and condemnation of many in the nation, especially the religious professors, was and would be, their having so slighted and despised, yea, hated this Divine light, and the witnesses of it.*

Being overcome in spirit, he occasionally said, "Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes spiritually have seen, my heart hath felt, and, feeling, shall for ever feel, thy salvation!"

He also left this prediction among his friends, that a time of great and near trial was shortly coming upon Friends in that corner of the land, wherein hypocrites should be discovered and made manifest; but that a faithful remnant, even the upright, lowly ones, the lowly shrubs, should be preserved and brought through the fiery trial with great comfort, when tall and sturdy oaks should be overthrown. And further, that this winnowing season should be attended with, or followed by, a breaking forth of greater glory and power, than he or others had ever known in that quarter. This remarkable language was judged to be plainly verified in all its parts, as well by the great accession of sufferings, which, within three years of his decease, was permitted to befall the Friends of Aberdeen, as by the opposite effect these sufferings had upon the dedicated and upon the disobedient.

Sometimes, when very sick, he would bless the Lord, that now fighting with a natural death, he had not an angry God to deal with. "Oh!" said he, "the sting of death is fully gone, and *death is mine;* being reconciled to me, *as a sweet passage*, through Him that loved me." And again, he signified, that the Lord had given him the garments of praise, instead of the spirit of heaviness. Another time, seeing a candle in the room almost gone out, he said, "My natural life is near an end, like that candle, for want of nourishment or matter to entertain it; but in this [respect] we shall differ, that if it be let alone, *that* goes out with a stink, but I shall go out with a good savour: praises to my God for ever!"

A little before his breath ceased, he declared, *He had been with his God, and had seen deep things:* about which time, he was filled in a wonderful manner with *the power of Christ*, which much affected those present; and very shortly after, he gently passed away!

One of the earliest minutes recorded by the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Aberdeen, in the book provided for the purpose of entering the affairs of the Society, to which allusion has been already made, has the following simple notice of his death: "It pleased the Lord to remove out of the body our dear and precious Friend, Alexander Jaffray, at his own house at Kingswells, the 7th of the 5th month, 1673, at one in the morning; who was buried in his own burial-ground there, upon the 8th day. He was a sincere, upright-hearted man all his time, and one that had been a seeker of the Lord from his youth up, and had *much of the life of Jesus and spirit of holiness attending his heart all along*, as his conversation witnessed; and died with blessed and living testimonies to the honour of Truth, before many professors and profane, who came to see him."

Little more than three months elapsed after the death of Alexander Jaffray, when Sarah his wife was called away, to join him and "the spirits of just men made perfect." Her maiden name, it may be remembered, was Cant, a daughter of Andrew Cant, several times noticed in the preceding Diary. From one passage, at page 161 of this volume, it may be inferred, that, at least on the particular occasion of trial there alluded to, this helpmeet of our Friend was in some danger of adding, by her unbelief or impatience, to his many sources of trial, rather than of mitigating his sorrows. However this may have actually been,

the sequel will prove, that her end was *a striking comment on her husband's path*, and even as a *seal to his dying testimony*:—so remarkably, oftentimes, are the expectations, endeavours, and prayers of the faithful answered; whether *they* be permitted or not, to see the travail of their soul accomplished, the ends of their faith fully brought about.—The above authentic record, which has been just quoted, furnishes us with this short but very interesting document respecting her: "The 2nd of 7th month, 1673:"—"The same day, Sarah Cant, relict of our late dear Friend, Alexander Jaffray, came into our meeting, and owned [the way of] Truth publicly, [as it is professed by Friends;] which was a *speaking* testimony, considering her parentage and education; [she] being mightily wrought upon to avow Truth publicly, by her worthy husband's remarkable dying, with such demonstration therein."—Her decease took place as early after this circumstance, as the 24th of the next month, and her remains were interred at Kingswells. See Appendix, *S*.

The Author of these pages has not been able definitively to ascertain, that Alexander Jaffray was ever actually considered in the light of a minister; although he is fully prepared to suppose this was *not* the case. At this early period, it does not appear to have been a stated practice among the Friends in Scotland, to give forth any testimonial, either in the name of one or more individuals, or in that of a congregation, declaratory of the character of deceased worthies, and of the estimation in which they had been held by their friends. This obligation towards the departed, soon, however, fastened on the minds of the living, in such a way, that few, especially among those whose doctrine and life had conspicuously shone forth, but were

held up to the view of succeeding generations, as examples "whose faith" they might be encouraged to "follow, considering the *end* of their conversation, JESUS CHRIST, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever."

Without conceding, in the slightest degree, the safe and true position, that those in this character must be expressly ordained, raised up, put forth, and furnished for the awfully-humbling work committed to them; there is great occasion for us prominently to bear in mind, that these, thus selected for a particular service, are but vessels,—as indeed are all other members of the church,—mere instruments, *made use of just in such manner and so long as* the chief Shepherd, "the Lord, hath need of" them. When Peter, accompanied by John, wrought a special miracle on the lame man, Acts, 3rd chapter, he said, "Such as I have, give I unto thee;" and afterward, to the Jews, "Why look ye so earnestly on us, as though by *our own power or holiness*, we had made this man to walk?" And certainly, "*His name*," (which comprehends his *power,*) "through *faith* in his name,"—yea, "the faith which is *by him*," when rightly received and applied,—is that which the followers of a crucified Redeemer, in every age, as well ministers as hearers, have alone to look to for sufficiency unto every good word and work. Various are the dispensations of what are termed the ordinary spiritual gifts conveyed to the members of that mystical body, of which Christ is the Head; and, if we have been baptized by one Spirit into this one body, we have each of us "severally" received a share in these, which it becomes our duty to occupy with and to improve. While, then, we are bound to "esteem" those "very highly in love, for their work's sake," who

labour in word and doctrine, let us also deeply sympathize with them. These messengers have no exclusive claim or prerogative on Divine bounty. Like the beautiful cloud in the heaven, they may be laden with a blessing, like the trumpet, they may be filled with "a certain" and a thrilling sound; but we have no proof, they are privileged beyond what may be the attainment of those who have no such peculiar vocation. God hath preeminently chosen, in every age, the weak things, the foolish things, and things that are not, to be his instruments in this line, lest we should unduly look to or lean upon them, and that "no flesh should glory in his presence." And those that "will be the chiefest," that *seem to be somewhat*, that are even "worthy of double honour," commonly have laid upon them the heavier burdens, have to pass under more humiliating baptisms, and are placed obvious to greater temptations. Not only have they nothing but what they receive, but they have the more to account for, and in a more full sense than any others, are made *servants of all.* They point to the Giver of every good and perfect gift,—which is also the case with all who let their "light shine;" they testify of that grace and truth, which is at once sufficient for *others* as for *themselves*, and which can come by Him alone, who is given to be "Head over all things to the church."

With these observations on the agency and help of our fellow-mortals, shall the memorial of so estimable a Christian as Alexander Jaffray be dismissed; under a fervent feeling of desire,—which has uniformly attended the mind of his Biographer, whilst holding up so bright an example,—that, as of men he sought not glory, *so all may be ascribed to the* Great First Cause, *who is supremely and everlastingly worthy!*

CHAPTER VII.

1673: THE MAGISTRATES MAKE A SECOND APPLICATION TO THE KING'S COUNCIL, AND THE "CLERGY" SOLICIT ARCHBISHOP SHARPE AGAINST THE "QUAKERS"—PROCLAMATION AGAINST HOUSE AND FIELD CONVENTICLES—1674: FRIENDS ARE FORCIBLY PUT OUT OF THEIR MEETING-HOUSE—THOMAS DOCKERY TAKEN FROM PRAYER TO PRISON, ALSO WILLIAM GELLIE—FRIENDS ARE DENOUNCED BY NAME AS REBELS AT THE MARKET-CROSS, AND THEIR PERSONAL PROPERTY DECLARED FORFEITED TO THE KING—DAVID RAIT'S DISTURBANCE OF THEM IN THEIR MEETINGS; HIS FEARFUL END—1675: CONFERENCE OF ROBERT BARCLAY AND GEORGE KEITH WITH SOME COLLEGE STUDENTS, FOUR OF WHOM JOIN THE SOCIETY—1676: DECLARATION RELATIVE TO CONVENTICLES—THIRTY-FOUR FRIENDS ARE IMPRISONED—THEY ARE TRIED BY A COURT OF COMMISSIONERS—THEIR DEFENCE, SENTENCE, AND TREATMENT—LETTER OF ISAAC PENINGTON—ROBERT BARCLAY, VISITING THE CHURCHES, ON HIS RETURN FROM HOLLAND AND GERMANY, PETITIONS THE KING ON BEHALF OF FRIENDS—FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMISSIONERS—CASE OF JOHN THOMPSON.

The magistrates of Aberdeen were not discouraged by their late unsuccessful attempts against the Society of Friends, but renewed their application to the King's Council at Edinburgh; whilst those called clergy, on their part, strenuously solicited Archbishop Sharpe's patronage; alleging, that "the Quakers' schism was prejudicial to the interest of the Church, and that by using a separate burial-place, they prevented the payment of the fees customary on these occasions." But this complaint, when laid before the Council, was effectually obviated by the representation of Friends, with regard to their disinterment of the dead bodies, before related. The Council, upon hearing both sides, did not think proper to interpose their authority in this case; the deputation were accordingly dismissed, and returned home, without attaining their purpose.

This people, however, were not long left unmo-

lested. A proclamation had lately been issued from the King's Council against *house or field conventicles*, with a bond attached, to be subscribed by heads of families and others, obliging themselves and those under them not to keep such meetings or be present at them, under a penalty. The magistrates of Aberdeen, making use of this handle, came several times to the meetings of Friends in that city, requiring all present to subscribe the bond; and on their refusal, took down their names. But, on the 7th of 5th month, 1674, in particular, the provost, with other magistrates and officers, commanded them to depart, and because they refused, directed that they should be forcibly put out of their meeting-house; which was done. Friends, nevertheless, quietly resumed their station within the walls, on the magistrates withdrawing from the spot; and in the performance of their reasonable, unobtrusive service towards their Maker, felt the strength of his divine presence in measure amongst them, whereby some, particularly Robert Barclay and George Keith, were enabled to declare of his goodness, and vocally to celebrate his worthy name!

On that and a succeeding day, Friends were generally fined according to the bond; and, on the 15th, Thomas Dockery, an English Friend, being engaged in prayer, was taken by the town-serjeants, and lodged in the Tolbooth for upwards of thirteen weeks; as was also William Gellie soon after, for the like offence, during nearly the same period. The next step taken against Friends, in pursuance of the act of Parliament against conventicles, and the order in Council, was, *to denounce them all by name at the market-cross as rebels against the state, and to declare their personal property forfeited to the King's use.* It

will be supposed, that all reasonable measures were taken by a people so abused, to represent their case to those in power, as well as to remonstrate with their immediate oppressors. A declaration was addressed to the Council by the sufferers, and signed individually by them, which sets forth in appropriate terms the dutiful demeanour and principles of this religious body towards the government,—well known even in those early days—and their conscientious scruple against signing the bond in question.

The example of such, who in the line of official duty, should have been a terror only to evil doers, no doubt would operate powerfully in encouraging the more ignorant and debased among the people, to acts of turbulent malice; while the incentives to persecution openly offered to both these classes, by the teachers of religion, must have had a still greater effect. The meetings of Friends were, in consequence, not unfrequently attended by those, whose minds seemed bent on disturbance and despitefulness. It was, doubtless, to this state of things as it then existed in Aberdeen, that Robert Barclay alludes in his "Apology," a quotation from which is given in the Notes. See Appendix, *T*. One envious opposer, David Rait, was especially active: for the space of two years, was he in the practice of using all endeavours to interrupt them in the hours appropriated for divine worship; being usually accompanied and abetted by a number of the college students, whose conduct was insulting and outrageous in the extreme.

About this time, Thomas Fern, who came from England to visit his brethren in Scotland, was concerned to preach in one of their public meetings; and whilst thus engaged, was often interrupted by this

David Rait, whom he repeatedly cautioned to desist from so evil a practice as this of turbulent railing; at length, after long forbearance, he solemnly warned him to beware, lest he should very shortly incur some remarkable judgment from the hand of God. Within a few days after, this wicked man fell under extreme anguish and terror of conscience, crying out continually, that the judgments of God were upon him for his abuses and molestations of this people in their religious meetings. Under which concern, he was incessantly restless, until he had sent for David and Robert Barclay from Ury to visit him; upon whose coming, with some Friends from Aberdeen, he begged them, with many tears, to forgive him, crying out, "Help, help, help! I never wronged any but you, and will beg your help on my knees," &c. Moved with compassion, Friends not only expressed their forgiveness of him, but prayed unto the Lord on his behalf; after which he recovered, and his mind became easy and quiet. On the restoration of his health, this man, notwithstanding, returned to his former practices, the iniquity of which seemed to be aggravated by his notorious ingratitude. Thus he continued, until a spirit of distraction seized and settled on him, under which he ended his days.

On the 14th of the 2nd month, 1675, a public conference or dispute was held at Aberdeen in the presence of some hundreds of people, between Robert Barclay and George Keith on one part, and some students of *divinity*, so called, on the other; the occasion of which was this. Robert Barclay, with a view of rescuing the Society from the odium under which they lay, through gross misrepresentation of their doctrines from the pulpits, published his "*Theses*," which was the ground-work of the

"Apology;" giving a brief and plain account of the principles owned by them, that the public might have a fair opportunity of candidly considering the subject. At the end of these Propositions, he offered to defend them in those places, where they had been thus misrepresented, and against such persons as had so traduced them. But none of these, namely, the public preachers, choosing to accept the proposal, and by a fair and sober discussion to inform themselves what they were; this method seems to have been pitched upon;—namely, to select some from among the students of their University, to take up the cause, as of themselves; that if those termed Quakers should have the advantage, the consequence would be immaterial, in a contest with young men. Friends were under no obligation to join issue with these youths, as it was not to them, but to the public preachers, who propagated these misrepresentations, the proposal was made. But, as they were not afraid of meeting the greatest and ablest, so the Truth, they thought, led them not to despise any, who might be disposed in a becoming manner to treat with them on the "reason of the hope" that was in them. The dispute was accordingly held for the appointed space of three hours; but terminated, as such disputes generally do, in tumult and disorder; the students handling serious subjects with levity, and at last triumphing in a victory which they had not obtained. Having numbers on their side, they used clamour and personal abuse, and wounding them with clods and stones, thus put an end to the debate. But the result proved on which side the advantage lay; for four of the students present, though not disputants, were so fully convinced of the reasonableness of Friends' principles, that they joined them in society, and gave

forth a written declaration under their hand, stating the grounds of their change, which was afterward printed at the close of a controversial piece of Robert Barclay's, in reply to the students' objections. See Appendix, *U*.

In the month called March, 1676, the Council at Edinburgh issued a declaration, reinforcing former acts of Parliament against conventicles, and recommending the execution of them to the sheriffs and magistrates of corporations. Although this proclamation expressly related to such as had been outlawed by the Council; yet the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of Aberdeen took occasion from it, to oppress those persons, of all others, against whom they well knew it was never intended to be stretched. So precipitate was their malice, and so ready were they for the work of persecution, that, upon the mere information of a traveller, and before the regular notification reached them, or was proclaimed in their town, the provost, bailies, and officers came to the Friends' meeting-house, on the 12th of the month, and committed twelve of them to the new Tolbooth; several days after which, the prisoners heard, from their windows, the public proclamation of the law that had been thus eagerly put in force against them.—The like measures were pursued for the space of two months, by which time the number of those lodged in prison amounted to thirty-four.

At length, the prisoners received a summons to appear before the Earl of Errol, the Earl Marischall, and "Sir John Keith," afterwards Earl of Kintore, three of the Privy Council, appointed Commissioners to put into execution the acts made against keeping conventicles. Accordingly, being called up before these, on the 26th of the 3rd month, a long libel was exhibited

against them, reciting the heads of the acts of Parliament against conventicles, and the withdrawing from that mode of worship established by law. The libel being read, was to be enforced by Patrick Hay, the only lawyer who could be procured to plead against them; but his oratory failing him, his plea was confined to this brief query, "Who gave you leave to preach?" which, for want of pertinent matter, he repeated several times.

The inquiry being put to the prisoners, Whether or not they were guilty according to the indictment; David Barclay replied:—That, though it was ordinary, for such as were stated under the circumstances it had pleased God to put them, to entertain lawyers to plead for them; yet they, having *the One Advocate with the Father*, that would and could plead their innocency in the hearts of all their opposers, they might not employ any man to plead for them. And, inasmuch as none of them had followed the practice of law, it was desired, that no advantage might be taken against them on account of their ignorance of the intricacies of it;—also that the rigour of it might not be extended towards them, if they should be found transgressors, (which they hoped to make appear was not the case,) there being a maxim, owned by all, that *Summum jus* is *summa injuria*. He further added, That the prisoners were most unjustly charged, with having kept three meetings in the week since the 1st month, 1674; whereas several of them had been, in that time, beyond the sea, others in England, and many had not been in Aberdeen for several months during those years.

Hereupon, he was interrupted by the inquiry, Whether they would own that they had been at any conventicles; to which they made answer, That they

were not to be their own accusers. It was said, This could be proved by witnesses; to which David Barclay said, He expected, that, according to law, equity, and reason, he might except against these. Upon this, several college students were called in, against whom David Barclay objected, that they were *socii criminis*, having themselves joined in keeping such meetings; and further, that they had lately published a book expressly against the prisoners, in the very title page of which, they accuse them of blasphemy and treason,—and therefore were manifestly prejudiced persons. Then the magistrates, who committed them, were called upon; but these also were excepted against, as those who had to put the laws in force, and were accusers. To this, the Earl Marischall replied, They should then have no witnesses at all. Yet did the Commissioners overrule these objections; and such evidence was received.

The prisoners then gave in their written defence; showing, at some length, and by various legal pleas, that they were not the persons against whose practices the acts in question were levelled; also taking notice of their imprisonment, contrary to law, by the magistrates for near three months; and further, boldly testifying, that it was merely out of that duty they owed to God, and in obedience to his commands, that they dare not forsake the assembling of themselves together in his name, and not out of any contempt of those in authority. "And if for this," continues the document, "the Lord should permit us to suffer, we trust he will furnish us with such a measure of *resignation of all that we have, to his disposing*, that we shall not *count any thing too dear*, when it comes in competition with His honour and our duty to Him. But, we shall not wish any in present

authority to be instruments thereof, seeing the Lord hath said to his people, 'He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye.'"

After an hour or two spent by the court in deliberation, the prisoners, being called one by one, were severally asked, Whether they would oblige themselves not to go any more to meetings? which every one of them refusing to do, they were again ordered to withdraw; and after some time, being called in again, the sentence of the court was read to them, whereby David Barclay, Alexander Gellie, Robert Burnett, Alexander Harper, Alexander Skene, Andrew Jaffray, and Alexander Forbes were fined, each in one fourth of their respective valued rents, for their own keeping conventicles, and an eighth part of the same each for withdrawing from the public worship. Three of the above were, besides, to pay an eighth part for their wives' transgressions, conformable to the tenour of the act. Those that were not landed proprietors, were fined as follows: Andrew Galloway, Thomas Milne, and George Keith, £30. each; William Sparke, £40.; James Forbes, £25., and the rest twenty merks apiece. And, over and above, John Skene and George Keith, because they were "found to have preached and prayed at these unwarrantable meetings," were "to find caution, under the pain of five thousand merks, *not to do the like hereafter, or else to enact themselves to remove out of the kingdom*," agreeable to the act of Parliament.—This John Skene is thus described by Proud in his History of Pennsylvania, introduction, p. 160. "John Skene was a person of great service and integrity, both in his religious and civil conduct; he was near two years Governor of West Jersey, and died in the year 1687. He was a preacher among the Quakers, had suffered much for

his religion in his native country, where he had distinguished himself in its cause."

The whole number were then remanded to prison, till payment of the fines, where their number was increased by the repeated imprisonment of others of their friends from their religious meetings. While thus kept in close confinement, some of them were concerned at times to preach to the people, who would come up to the windows of the prison to hear them; but the magistrates, to prevent this, and to incommode the prisoners, caused the windows to be closed up with boards for a whole week together, and also removed several of them into the higher prison. On one occasion, Alexander Gordon, a bailie of Aberdeen, came in great anger to the lower court-house, where Friends were then imprisoned, and took Andrew Jaffray, while he was declaring, through the window, the gospel of peace and salvation to the people, forthwith thrusting him into the higher prison, where no Friends had as yet been confined. This place is represented as filthy and disgusting beyond most prisons in the nation. The persecutor was, however, so troubled in his conscience for such cruelty, that he afterward confessed to a Friend, he could get no peace nor rest in his mind that night, until he had caused Andrew Jaffray to be returned to the spot, whence he had taken him.

Very seasonable to this unoffending, yet zealous company of "the Lord's freemen," must have proved the succeeding remarkable strain of sympathetic and encouraging communication, coming from so tried a servant of the Lord as Isaac Penington, and meeting them after they had completed their fourth month of imprisonment.

"For my dear suffering Friends in Scotland.

"Dear Friends and Brethren,

"Who have partaken of the tender mercy and blessed visitation of the Lord. O! blessed be the Lord, who pitied and helped us in our low estate, and whose tender love and mercy hath followed us, from his first visiting us to this present day. And indeed, the Lord is with us,—what can we desire more?—preparing us for himself, preserving us in the life of his blessed Truth, building us up more and more, and causing his Spirit of glory and living power to rest upon us, and the virtue thereof to spring up in us day by day.

"O! the beauty and glory of the day of our God increaseth upon his heritage; O! blessed be the name of the Lord! And to what tend all the workings of the contrary spirit and power, but to eat out its own interest and kingdom, through the Lord's blessed ordering of things; so that all things work together for good, and for the advancing of Truth, and the growth of it in the hearts of God's heritage.

"So, my dear Friends, none look out, either at outward or inward sufferings; but to the Lord only, whose life, Spirit, and power is above them, and bears up all over them, who are in spirit joined to him, faithfully waiting upon him; which God daily teaches and enables his to do. Thus, my dear Friends, feel the Lord's presence and power among you, who is always near his, but especially in the time of their straits, trials, and sufferings; and wait to feel the life springing, and doing its proper work in each of you day by day, working out what is to be wrought out in any, and working more and more into the glory of the heavenly image; that, through the sufferings, ye may come into the glory, and be crowned with the

glory, virtue, holiness, righteousness, and dominion of life over all; and thus the Son may sit upon his throne in you, and wield his holy and righteous sceptre, and give you dominion in and with him over all that would veil life, or keep it under in any of you. So, my dear Friends, be strong in the Lord, with the strength of the Lord, with which he is clothing those, whom he hath emptied and made weak; for the trials, temptations, and afflictions prepare for, and (as I may say) lead into the possession of the desired inheritance; where all that the soul hath breathed and waited for, is bestowed upon it by the bountiful hand of the Father of mercies, who keeps covenant and mercy for ever, and renews covenant and mercy day by day.

"So, the tender God of my life, and Father of the blessings and mercies of my once greatly distressed and miserable soul, instruct you, preserve you, watch over you; exercise your spirits most advantageously, daily open you to himself, keep you empty and naked before him of all your own clothing and righteousness, and fill you with that which flows from the pure, living fountain, to the unspeakable joy of your hearts, and the glory of his own name over all for ever!

"Be of good faith, my dear Friends, look not out at any thing, fear none of those things ye may be exposed to suffer, either outwardly or inwardly; but trust the Lord over all, and your life will spring, and grow, and refresh you, and the love and power will purge out and keep out what would hinder its growth. And ye will learn obedience and faithfulness daily more and more, even by your exercises and sufferings; yea, the Lord will teach you the very mystery of faith and obedience; (oh blessed lesson!) and ye shall not be disappointed of your hope or crown, by any

thing the enemy can plot or bring about against you, but have the weight of glory increased and enlarged by his temptations and your many sufferings; the wisdom, power, love and goodness of the Lord ordering *every* thing for you, and ordering *your* hearts in every thing,—you having given up to him, and keeping them continually given up to him in the holy seed of Truth, in which he hath in some measure already joined, and is daily more and more joining you to himself.

"This is the salutation and tender visit of the love of your brother in the Truth, whose breathings are to God for you, and his praises unto Him, through the sense of His being with you, and daily showing mercy to you, upholding and preserving you in the midst of your sore trials and afflictions.

"Isaac Penington."

"London, 5th of 5th month, 1676."

Robert Barclay was at this time engaged from home, in visiting his friends and the churches of Christ as a minister, and went with this object to London; thence, crossing the water, he travelled into Holland and Germany. It is to be regretted, nothing is preserved as to the particulars of this journey on the continent. In the course of it, he commenced acquaintance with Elizabeth, Princess Palatine of the Rhine, who was distantly related to his mother, and with her he had some satisfactory opportunity of conference on religious subjects. The publication of his "Apology" this year, which was printed in Latin at Amsterdam, may very probably have formed a part of his engagement abroad; and it is more than conjectural, as his biographer intimates, that on his return by way of London, the author presented his book to

Charles the 2nd. See the "Short Account of R. B's Life and Writings," 1802, p. 31. To the credit of the King, he took no offence at the Christian freedom, used by Robert Barclay in his well-known address to him, prefixed to that work, which, for its manly style, religious boldness, yet decent respect, has been much admired.

While at the English metropolis, he received intelligence of the imprisonment of his honoured father and other Friends in Scotland; upon which, beginning to have some interest at court, and access to the King's presence, he delivered into his own hands the following petition on their behalf.

"The State of the Case of the People called Quakers in Scotland, presented unto the King's consideration.

"The Council of Scotland having about three months ago emitted a declaration, to reinforce former acts of Parliament against conventicles, and recommended the execution of them, because of the abuse several persons had made of the King's Indulgence, as the said declaration intimates; some inferior magistrates have taken occasion thereby, to imprison many of them [the "Quakers,"] and some deputies of the Council have stretched the laws against conventicles to the highest degree of severity, by heavy fines and tedious imprisonments, although their practices and principles never gave ground for such procedure.

"It is therefore on the behalf of the said suffering people, with all sincere respect, desired, that it would please the King favourably to recommend their case to the Council of Scotland; that a difference of character may be put upon them, who have ever lived

and behaved themselves peaceably under the present government, from such as are said to have abused the Indulgence; with some present relief to those harmless sufferers, to prevent that utter ruin, which, in all probability, will attend so many of them, that live by their labour and trade.

"R. BARCLAY."

The King's secretary, the Duke of Lauderdale, was thereupon instructed to underwrite a favourable reference of the matter, which was done in these words:

"His Majesty is graciously pleased to refer this paper to the right honourable the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council in Scotland.

"LAUDERDALE."

"Whitehall, August 7th, 1676."

In a collection of manuscript correspondence, belonging to Colchester Monthly Meeting, is an original letter of Robert Barclay, addressed to Stephen Crisp, and dated the 3rd of the preceding month, which shows that this favourable reference was not obtained without much persevering effort. "I have at last," says he, "after long and tedious attendance, near finished my business; for the Duke of Lauderdale tells me yesterday, he has received order to give me a letter to the Council in Scotland, in order to grant Friends their liberty; which he has promised to give me to-morrow, so that I purpose in two or three days to be going homewards."

On the 7th of the 7th month, September, the above statement and reference were presented to the Council, then sitting at Edinburgh; and at the same time was delivered in, a brief but respectful "Memorial"

from those people at Aberdeen and its vicinity "in derision called Quakers."

But the Council at Edinburgh did not think proper to interfere in a matter, which they had formerly appointed their Commissioners at Aberdeen to determine, and concerning which those Commissioners had already pronounced their decree. They therefore still left the matter to the decision of the same judges, only appointing three others to join them; namely, "Sir Richard Maitland" of Pittrichie, Baird of Auchmedden, and Ogilvie of Aboyne.

The six Commissioners accordingly sat at Aberdeen on the 28th of this month; and the prisoners being called in, the Earl of Errol, who was president, told them, That they had called them again, to know whether they were yet better advised, than when they were last before them? and whether they would give bond not to hold any more meetings? To which John Skene answered, That the last time they were before the King's Council, he, being one of those accused for speaking in the meeting, desired the accusers might be asked, Whether himself, or any other of them, had ever been heard to speak any thing in the least tending to sedition, or to withdraw any of the King's subjects from their due obedience and subjection to his authority? To this the Earl replied, "It is enough: that matter was spoke to at our last sitting, and you were then found guilty." John Skene answered, That there had not been any seditious act proved against them, and that they had been kept prisoners about seven months, for no other cause than meeting in a peaceable manner to worship God "in spirit and in truth." But the Earl of Errol again interrupted him, saying, "It is enough:" then directing his speech to the other Commissioners, "My Lords,

I have delivered your minds, and therefore it is fit they should remove." Upon this, John Skene further added, "Though you now sit as our judges, yet I cannot forbear but put you in mind, from the zeal of the Lord, and from that respect I owe you as the King's counsellors, that the day is coming, when both you who are now sitting as our judges, and we who are judged, must stand before the judgment seat of the just Judge of heaven and earth:—and therefore I wish ye may so judge now, as that, in that day, ye may have peace." The Earl observed, "You are not to be our lawgiver;" to which John Skene replied, "No: I only in all humility lay these things before you."

The Earl then queried, Whether they were all of that mind? Alexander Skene answered, "I hope there are none of us here, that will be so unfaithful to our God, as to give any bond, whereby we should bind ourselves not to meet together and worship God;" and further submitted to their consideration the circumstance, that, so far as he knew, there were at that time none of their Friends suffering on this account in either of the three kingdoms. "The King," he continued, "hath referred us to his Council, and the Council hath referred us to you here, so that ye have all the power of the civil authority, to do with us as it shall seem right to you, from whom we may expect as much moderation, as our Friends elsewhere have met with. But, if it shall please the Lord to permit you to be the instruments of our sufferings, I hope he will enable us to bear it with that patience and submission which becometh Christians."

The Earl of Errol then addressed himself to the other Commissioners, "My Lords, if ye have any more to say than I have said, ye may speak it."

Upon this, the Earl of Marischall remarked, "They plead themselves *not guilty* of seditious conventicles, as would seem by what that young man spoke, whereas the law concludes their very meetings seditious." Alexander Skene replied, That they could not help all the constructions of that kind, for it had been the lot of God's people in all ages to have misrepresentations cast upon them; "but we hope," said he, "we shall behave ourselves so peaceably and dutifully, that where for conscience-sake we cannot give active, we shall give passive obedience." Then said the Earl of Errol, "Qualified loyalty smells of disloyalty: it seems, then, you will not give bond." To which John Skene answered, "Let never that day dawn, in which we shall be so unfaithful to the Lord! but if any should prove so, let neither the King nor his Council trust that man; *for he that is not faithful to the Lord, will never be faithful to his King and country.*"

The prisoners being ordered to remove, as they were withdrawing, the Earl of Errol said again to Alexander Gellie, That the Quakers' loyalty was a qualified loyalty. Alexander replied, That he did not understand *that* to be loyalty, which was not qualified with the fear of God, and by obedience to Him rather than man.

After some hours, the prisoners were called into court to hear the decree of the Commissioners to this purport: That they should pay their respective fines to one Captain George Melvill, and that upon payment, they should be set at liberty; that, in default of payment within a limited time, Melvill was impowered to distrain them for the same, and that when the fines should be levied, the prisoners were to be released.

The Earl of Errol departing out of town the next

morning, the remaining Commissioners were unwilling to have further trouble, by issuing afresh a particular process against those who had been committed to prison since the rest were fined; and therefore added a clause to their former decree, by virtue of which, John Forbes of Aquorthies, Robert Gerard, and six others were liberated. Among these, was John Thomson, an aged and a poor man. He had been a soldier in the King's service at the battle of Worcester, was taken prisoner, and sent as a slave to Barbadoes, where he remained five years. There was something in this case peculiarly calling for the indulgent interference of the higher authorities, when inferior servants of the crown could thus overlook the character, services, and bitter sufferings of a man, who had hazarded his life for his King and country, and was now made willing to lose his all, rather than relinquish the free exercise of his conscience towards the King of kings. He appears to have had his goods distrained and disposed of, and to have lain in prison, at one time, for about eight or nine months together, without being either called for, found guilty, or heard in his own defence.

CHAPTER VIII.

1676: FINES LEVIED BY MELVILL—JOHN SKENE AND ROBERT BURNETT ADDRESS THE PROVOST OF ABERDEEN—HIS SEVERITY; AND MELVILL'S CONDUCT—PATRICK LIVINGSTON AND JAMES HALLIDAY'S PREACHING—FURTHER DISTRAINTS AND FRESH IMPRISONMENTS—DAVID BARCLAY'S LIBERATION—LETTER OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO ROBERT BARCLAY—HIS IMPRISONMENT ON HIS RETURN HOME—LETTER OF THE PRINCESS TO PRINCE RUPERT ON BEHALF OF FRIENDS—MELVILL EXECUTES HIS WARRANT OF DISTRAINT AT URY.

Soon after the Court of Commissioners had come to this decision, Melvill set himself to work to put in execution the authority given him, by levying the fines. He began with Thomas Milne, a shoemaker; from whom, for his fine of £30., he took goods of three times that value; and thereupon, this poor man was released from his imprisonment. He, being discharged, was present when his goods were conveyed to the market-cross to be appraised; and finding that they were doing him much wrong by underrating them, testified against their injustice; and, withal, *kneeling down, he prayed God to forgive them.* This act, however truly savouring of a meek and Christian spirit, was by the provost, George Skene, resented as a high affront to him and his office; he therefore again committed Thomas Milne to prison, where he was detained four days. Many of the sober and moderate inhabitants of the place justly esteemed this as a great severity; and two of the prisoners found themselves concerned each of them to plead with him, in the following remarkable letters of expostulation.

John Skene to the Provost of Aberdeen.

"Aberdeen Prison,
"25th of 8th month, 1676.

"Provost!

"Read and consider seriously without passion or prejudice:—Is there no God in heaven? Is there no judgment day? Must man only die as the beast, and make no account how he hath improved his time in this world, or how he hath answered the end of his creation? If so, then I should think it no strange thing to see thee so devoted to please the spirit of this world, this persecuting spirit, both in thyself and others. But if otherwise,—as I desire to hope thou dost believe,—[then] is there a just and righteous God, who seeth the actions of mankind, and hath a book of remembrance,—[then] the day cometh, wherein that which hath been done in secret, shall be proclaimed as on the house-tops,—[then] there is an after-reckoning, and man must receive his reward conformable to the deeds done in the body,—and [then] man hath something in him not common with the beasts, even an immortal soul; for the salvation of which, he ought to be more concerned to please God than any man, whose breath is in his nostrils, who, as the flower of the field, is here to-day, and to-morrow is cut down! I say, it cannot but seem strange to me, and to all God's people, that one who believes these things, however great in the outward his power be, dare venture on such actions as thou hast this day done, to cause or suffer a man to be imprisoned for no other reason than obeying Christ's command, as it is recorded in Matthew, v. 44, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and *pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.*'

" Now, I warn thee, that thou seek not to cover this, and such rigorous practices, lest thou add to thine iniquity; for no excuse will stand thee in stead in the day of the Lord; and their power and influence, by which thou proceedest as thou dost, shall not cover thee from the hand of that God, who hath said concerning his people, 'He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye.' Wherefore let not *the self-seeking clergy*, nor their emissaries, sow pillows under thy arm-holes, as the false prophets did of old to those in authority, by telling thee, that we are not the people of God. For, know assuredly, the word of the Lord hath been to me, with others of my brethren, since we came in here, that as there is no variableness nor shadow of changing *in Him*, so shall He be the same *to us*, as He hath been to our brethren and sisters in England, Ireland, and *New England* too, where some *suffered martyrdom for His name's sake.* And as we continue faithful in owning Him before men, so he shall own us, not only before our very persecutors, but also in the great and terrible day of the Lord, before his Father and his angels. And *we shall be as the palm-tree,* [the emblem of constancy, fruitfulness, patience, and victory,]—the more devils and men endeavour to *oppress* us in our public testimonies for His inward appearance,—*we shall rise the higher.*

" Wherefore, I beseech thee, in God's holy fear, take heed to thy proceedings against an innocent people; and let not the enemy within, nor his instruments without, drive thee further on in this path, wherein thou art walking, lest thou be found fighting against God—then will God fight against thee, and thou shalt not be honourable: for God hath said in the Scriptures, *He will honour them that*

honour him, and on the contrary, *They shall be lightly esteemed that dishonour him.* So, repent; and be warned from the Lord!—despise it not, though it come through a weak instrument; for if thou do not mind it, all thy endeavours in this persecuting way, shall but tend to the filling up of the cup of thy secret and public sins,—and thou shalt wish thou hadst died beyond seas, and never seen thy native country.

"Receive this as thou pleasest:—this I can say, I have written it in true love and respect, both to thy soul and body, as likewise in obedience to the Lord. And what I have written shall stand as a witness against thee in the day of account, and I shall be clear of thy blood:—but, it is the earnest prayer of my soul to the God of power, that he may so second it, as that it may produce fruits most acceptable to God, and refreshing to his people.

"I rest, as formerly, however esteemed by thee, thy true and faithful friend,

"JOHN SKENE."

ROBERT BURNETT TO THE PROVOST OF ABERDEEN.

"Aberdeen Tolbooth,
28th of 8th month, 1676.

"In the zeal of the Lord God, and in love to thy soul, do I write to thee, being moved thereunto by his Spirit, which hath arisen in my heart, with a mighty indignation and wrath against *that* in thee, which doth oppress his innocent seed in thine own heart, and hath taken much rule in thy whole man. This doth evidently appear, by what thou hast done, in the entry of thy rule in this place, against God and his people, whom he hath called out in this place to bear a testimony for his everlasting Truth. They are made to suffer, for the exercise of their conscience

towards God, by an unrighteous generation, who can lay no other deed to their charge but innocency and uprightness: for this we rejoice, in the midst of our sufferings, and shall more rejoice, through the strength of our God, who rules heaven and earth,—that *all* shall turn to his glory and the good of them that fear him. For, whoever may combine against him and his anointed, they shall not prosper; their designs shall be turned backward, and their contrivances come to nought; and our God shall arise, and be avenged on his enemies, who would not that He should reign over them.

"Friend, I am exceeding sorry for thee, that thou, of whom other things were expected, should have a hand appearing against God,—yea, and his witness in thine own heart, which, if thou mindest seriously, will show thee the injustice and unrighteousness of thy proceedings, contrary to what once were thine own principles. Oh! shall the honour of this world, or any enjoyment of it, which passeth away with the using, draw thee, or so prevail, as to make thee provoke the glorious King of righteousness to shut thee up in everlasting darkness and death, and to lose the crown immortal, and the heavenly mansion that endures for ever! Oh! let nothing arise in thee, to deceive thee of thy birthright, or to cause thee to think thou so standest that thou canst not fall. A fall is abiding all those, that lift up their heel against the Almighty: for, "Who ever hardened himself against Him, and prospered?'

"Let this be a warning to thee from thy true friend,

"Robert Burnett."

"Postscript. Let none deceive themselves with that colour or pretence, that they are commanded to

do what they do by the higher powers, and so think to be justified. If so, then Pilate may plead the same; yea, and more, who publicly declared his unwillingness to pass sentence against Christ, who esteemed him a good and just man, and washed his hands, as innocent of his blood; and yet, if *he* was not free of the murder of our blessed Lord,—no more shall any of the present rulers, who have an hand in the present persecution."

The last letter, being delivered into the provost's own hand by Margaret Cassie, was, with the other, received by the party addressed in a very different spirit from that which actuated the authors of them; the provost threatening to complain against them to the Council, and have them punished.

But the magistrates of Aberdeen seem now for some time, to have been effectually brought over by the professed spiritual leaders of the people, to exert their power in oppressing and persecuting this religious Society. George Skene, the provost during the present year, even exceeded his predecessors in executing his malice and cruelty upon them. Almost immediately upon his entering into office, he caused the prisoners to be more closely kept; debarring them the liberty of going into the lower council-house, a privilege, which they had before been permitted at times to enjoy; and threatened some of the officers with the loss of their places, for not acting up to the rigour of his orders. And now, observing, that these conscientious people were not to be deterred by the forfeiture of their property, from returning to their meetings, he not only continued to send them again to prison; but, in order to render their imprisonment as severe and incommodious as he well could, would

frequently remove them from one room to another, merely to perplex them with the trouble of replacing their bedding and utensils. This being in the winter season, and one of these rooms having no chimney or other convenience for firing, several of their relations solicited for their removal into another place; this proposal some of the more moderate magistrates approved, as only reasonable. But the provost would by no means give his consent, and even prevented, so far as he could, any application to that effect being made to the Commissioners. On the contrary, his evil disposition prompting him to be still more vexatious to them, he proposed petitioning the Commissioners to give orders for the close shutting up of all the prisoners in the higher part of the gaol, which was a very disgusting place; but in such a piece of downright cruelty, he could not obtain the concurrence of the other magistrates.

With regard to Melvill, the person to whom the fines were made payable, he went forward in his work of making havock among the little church, as to their outward substance. In order, however, to leave him inexcusable, as far as in them lay, some of the prisoners found themselves under the necessity to address him: this they did; setting before him, how unchristian an office he had undertaken, and in much love cautioning him to beware how he proceeded further in his course. See Appendix, *V.* But he, likewise, turned a deaf ear to all their searching and persuasive exhortation, and determined to proceed. Fearing he had exceeded the bounds of his authority, he applied to the Council's Commissioners, sitting at Turriff, for a fresh decree; and this he procured from them. Thinking himself now completely authorized, on the 30th of the month called October, he took

measures effectually to accomplish his purpose. Twelve soldiers of the militia, with two messengers, came to John Skene's shop; and, pretending his goods were not sufficient to cover the fine, although those in sight were three times the value, proceeded to his dwelling-house, where entrance was denied them. On this, they applied to the provost for a warrant to break open his doors; but before they could obtain it, night came on. Next day, they came with smiths and hammers, to break open the gate and doors of his house; but James Skene went to the magistrates, then assembled, and made a legal protest, importing that there were goods enough in the shop to answer their claim, and if they should break open the house, the magistrates must expect to be accountable for the damage incurred. They advised Melvill to seize on the shop goods, which he did, to the amount of £130, by their own valuation, carrying away the whole to the captain's house, besides two other seizures made on Friends the same day.

His career was at length stopped for a season; for, being obliged to secrete himself from a messenger and serjeants, who were in quest of him for debt, he durst not appear, till that demand was compromised. But no sooner had he got this effected, than he returned to the prosecution of his commission, and in the like unreasonable manner. Coming again to the same individual's shop, on pretence of the former seizure being defective, he took away more goods, making in the whole £230 for a fine of £100. This plunder was not, however, altogether gain clear of vexation and disappointment; for it appears, that when John Skene's property was brought to the cross on a market-day to be appraised, Patrick Livingston and

James Halliday, (of whom further mention is about to be made,) so spoke to the people out of their prison-windows, that no man could be found, who would be concerned in the matter of appraisement.

These Friends, who both resided in England, in the course of a religious visit to their brethren in this nation, had come to Aberdeen, and being apprehended, were put into the *upper* prison. Here they had frequent opportunities, especially on market-days, to preach to the people the doctrine of Truth out of their prison-windows; having more hearers there, than probably they would have had in their own meeting-house in more peaceable times. Thus, even their confinement tended to promote the testimony they had to bear. At this, the provost and others of their adversaries were greatly exasperated, and held several consultations upon the means to prevent it; but were at a loss to devise any plausible expedient, fearing to give umbrage to the people, who were eagerly attentive to hear them, should they proceed in any unusual method of severity against them.

In the meanwhile, further distraints and fresh imprisonments were going forward. From Andrew Jaffray, Melvill and his followers took five or six oxen; and from Alexander Skene cattle to the value of two hundred merks, being nearly twice the amount of his fine. In the latter instance, not finding purchasers to his mind for the cattle at the cross, Melvill had them killed, and their flesh exposed to sale in the public shambles. But the people generally refused to buy; so that, in the end, he found these cattle, living or dead, were brought to a bad market.

David Barclay, it would seem, had by this time obtained his liberty. No express record is made of the occasion of such partiality being shown him by

his oppressors, so different from the treatment they meted out to his fellows. Yet is there ample ground to impute this to the exertion used by his son, when in London; which, though made on behalf of the sufferers *generally*, and not at all pointedly on behalf of David Barclay, (as is indeed evident in the foregoing address to the King,) took effect, it would seem, with regard to *him*, while it failed, at least for the present, to obtain for the rest of the prisoners the reasonable indulgence sued for. These exertions of Robert Barclay, were not confined to a direct application to royalty. He wrote to the Princess Elizabeth; and by her reply, which he received while he was still in London, it is clear, she had already endeavoured to interest her brother, the Prince Rupert, to use his influence for the liberation of the whole number, but especially marking out *David Barclay* to notice, *his wife* standing in the relation of third cousin to the Princess. Her letter, which opens a correspondence that subsisted between these eminent characters till death, and is remarkable for its Christian simplicity, is here given. See Appendix, *W*.

Elizabeth, Princess Palatine of the Rhine, to Robert Barclay.

"July 21st—31st, 1676.

"My dear Friend in our Saviour Jesus Christ! I have received your letter, dated the 24th of June, this day; and since I am pressed to take this opportunity to make a certain address unto your brother, Benjamin Furly, I must give you this abrupt answer.

"Your memory is dear to me,—so are your lines and exhortations very necessary. I confess myself still spiritually very poor and naked:—all my happiness is,—I do know I am so; and whatever I have studied

or learned heretofore, is but dirt, in comparison to the true knowledge of Christ. I confess also my infidelity to this Light heretofore, by suffering myself to be conducted by false, politic lights. Now that I have sometimes a small glimpse of the true Light, I do not attend it, as I should; being drawn away by the works of my calling, which must be done;—and, as your swift English hounds, I often overrun my scent, being called back when it is too late.

"Let not this make you less earnest in your prayers for me,—you see I need them. Your letters will always be welcome to me, so will your friends, if any please to visit me.

"I should admire God's providence, *if my brother could be a means of releasing your father and forty more in Scotland;* having promised to do his best, I know he will perform it,—he has ever been true to his word:—And you shall find me, with the grace of our Lord,

"A true Friend,

"ELIZABETH."

"P. S. The Princess of Hornes sends you her most hearty commendations."

Robert Barclay had not long returned to his native country, and the bosom of his family, when he was himself apprehended by order of the provost, together with Thomas Moor, Thomas Milne, and John Forbes, while they were attending their meeting for worship at Aberdeen. The three latter were conveyed to the *higher* gaol; and because the keeper did not confine him in the same place with them, the provost was highly offended. His commitment was on the 7th of the 9th month; and by the next month, the news of his confinement reached his

friend, the Princess Palatine, probably with some circumstances of exaggeration, as appears from the following letter to her brother, the Prince Rupert.

"Herford, December 19th, 1676.

"Dear Brother,

"I have written to you some months ago by Robert Barclay, who passed this way, and hearing I was your sister, desired to speak with me. *I knew him to be a Quaker by his hat,* and took occasion to inform myself of all their opinions: and finding they were so *submiss* to the magistrates in real, omitting the ceremonial, I wished in my heart, the King might have many such subjects. And since, I have heard, that notwithstanding his Majesty's gracious letter on his behalf to the Council of Scotland, he has been clapped up in prison with the rest of his friends; and they threaten to hang them, at least those they call preachers among them, unless they subscribe their own banishment; and this, upon a law made against other sects, that appeared armed for the maintenance of their heresy;—which goes directly against the principles of those, who are ready to suffer all that can be inflicted, and still love and pray for their enemies.

"Therefore, dear Brother, if you can do any thing to prevent their destruction, I doubt not but you would do an action acceptable to God Almighty, and conducive to the service of your royal master: for the Presbyterians are their main enemies, to whom they are an eye-sore, as bearing witness against all their violent ways.

"I care not, though his Majesty see my letter; it is written no less out of an humble affection for him, than in a sensible compassion of the innocent suf-

ferers. You will act herein according to your own discretion; and, I beseech you, still consider me as

"Yours,

"Elizabeth."

One brief comment on the foregoing letter, merely by way of information, may perhaps be due to some of the younger classes of readers, who profess with the Society of Friends, as well as to others who do not.—The Princess knew Barclay to be a Quaker by his hat, and *thereupon* took occasion to inform herself of all their opinions. Neither the Princess, nor Barclay, nor the Friends of Barclay in that day, placed any undue value upon singularity of external appearance, merely as such. The costume of the Friends had, before this date, become peculiar, and conspicuous for its simplicity, in consequence of the extravagance and preposterous fashions generally prevalent. They kept, with but very slight variation, to the mode of dress in use among sober-minded people at the time they had their rise in these kingdoms; and considered it one mark of a little and degraded mind, to be frequently, or without some sufficient occasion, adopting "changeable suits of apparel." Isai. iii. 22. It was this view of the subject, which made them nonconformists to the fashion of a passing world, as well as to the manners of those that love it; their close scrutiny into the motives for all their conduct, induced a caution, a jealousy, a precision in these respects, which while wholesome and beneficial, appeared to be consistent with the apostolic injunction, "Be ye holy *in all manner of conversation.*" 1 Peter, i. 15.

While Robert Barclay lay in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, Melvill, who had been one of his father's

troopers, came to Ury with his party, bent on executing against David Barclay, the warrant he had from the Commissioners to distrain for the fine. The iron gate being shut, and the family at dinner, the man had to wait awhile for admission, which might have somewhat irritated him. For when his former master and colonel, on examining the warrant, told him, *that* could give him no authority within his estate, which lay in the shire of Mearns, whilst the decree of the Commissioners, under whom he acted, extended only to the shires of Aberdeen and Banff; he would by no means desist from his purpose, but, adding one illegal act to another, proceeded to take away ten labouring oxen, in the ploughing season, (which was by act of Parliament prohibited, even in case of a just debt,) also two cows, a bull, and a quantity of corn. These cattle proved a troublesome acquisition, for he could find no man that would buy them, and the expense of keeping them was a continual burden to him; so that he seems to have been well tired of them, before he could at any rate get them disposed of. At last, this remarkable opportunity offered.

The Friends engaged in the dispute with the students of Aberdeen, thought themselves unhandsomely treated on that occasion, and also by the reports of it. They accordingly published a particular account of the whole circumstance, to which the students drew up a reply; but no printer being willing to undertake their proposed publication at his own risk, they with some difficulty raised the money, hoping to be reimbursed by the sale of their book. But to their mortification almost the whole impression remained on their hands unsold: this induced them to represent their loss by petition to the Com-

missioners, and to request some relief out of the exchequer. By the Archbishop's influence in their favour, these students obtained from the Commissioners an order upon Captain Melvill, to pay them a part of the "Quakers'" fines in his hand; upon which he gave them David Barclay's oxen, and with this they raised the money they wanted.

CHAPTER IX.

1676: FURTHER SEIZURES AND IMPRISONMENTS—LETTER OF GAVINE LAURIE TO FRIENDS—GEORGE GRAY AND ALEXANDER SEATON'S TREATMENT AT OLD MELDRUM—CASE OF ALEXANDER CHALMERS AND WIFE—1677: ALEXANDER BURNETT, BAILIE, ENDEAVOURS TO INCENSE THE COMMISSIONERS AGAINST FRIENDS—TO PREVENT THE PRISONERS FROM PREACHING, THEIR PRISON-WINDOWS ARE CLOSED UP—SOME OF THEM ARE REMOVED TO A PLACE CALLED *THE CHAPEL*, OTHERS FROM THE LOWER TO THE HIGHER PRISON—THEIR SITUATION AND HARD USAGE—A FRIEND OF THE PRISONERS ADDRESSES THE PROVOST.

But Melvill had not yet finished his work in making seizures; some further instances of which may be mentioned, as tending, in connexion with what has gone before, to set forth the persecuting spirit of that day, when our predecessors had, at a rate thus dear, to pay for even *attempting* to worship their God in the way of his leading.—From George Gray, a poor weaver, for a fine of twenty merks, were taken cattle and goods worth £28, besides linen, which the soldiers privately stole and carried off. From William Wishart, John Glenny, Alexander Gellie, and William Spark of Stonehaven, the several amounts of £40, £40, £140, and £50. The last-named individual had obtained his liberty to go home from Aberdeen, where he was prisoner, that he might look to his own affairs; but as soon as the under-sheriff of Stonehaven knew of this, and that he was returned, he caused him to be put into prison at the latter place, till, the above distraint taking place, he was obliged to discharge him. The same under-sheriff had several times before, during David Barclay's imprisonment, committed those who met there for the purpose of divine worship, and detained them

several days, until he was ordered to release them, they being mostly the servants of David Barclay.

On the 6th of the 12th month, 1676, the last mentioned Friend, together with George Gray, John Forbes, and Robert Milne, were taken at a Monthly Meeting, and recommitted; three of these being put into the upper prison, but David Barclay, by the express interference of one of the magistrates, into the lower gaol. About a month after this, Andrew Jaffray was again taken into custody: for the constancy of these sufferers was such, that when, upon the levying of their fines, they were liberated, forthwith they frequented their religious assemblies, where they were consequently soon retaken, and consigned to their previous allotment.

While thus situated, the prisoners were saluted with the succeeding effusion of gospel love from a brother at a distance.

"To George Keith, Robert Barclay, and the rest of Friends.

"11th of 12th Month, 1676.

"Dear Friends,

"Your letter some time since I saw, which was read at London in the meeting, and copies sent as you did desire.

"O dear hearts! my soul melted at the reading thereof, for joy and gladness, that the Lord hath raised up living witnesses for his name, and that he hath appeared in his mighty power in my native country, to raise him up a people there, to bear witness to his blessed Truth, and to be valiant sufferers for the same,—to count nothing too dear unto them, being willing to give all up for the blessed testimony of his Truth, forsaking what is near and dear unto them,

that they may follow his leadings. Oh! blessed day for ever, that *we* should come to be witnesses of it.

"And now, you valiant lambs, whom the Lord hath honoured to stand under the banner that he hath lifted up in that corner of the nation,—the Lord hath blessed you, and will bless and prosper you; as you abide faithful, you shall overcome; the cedars shall fall before you, and the mountains be trodden down. Your strength is in the Lord, who will go through the briars and thorns, which are set in battle array against you. You are the seed of the Blessed and the offspring of the Lord, whom he hath made, and will yet make as threshing instruments in his hands, to be a dread and a terror to the enemies of his Truth. O dear lambs! keep your habitation, in subjection to the weighty Life, which keeps all low, meek, and humble, feeling all to be from Him, your strength and courage. My soul is united with you in the one bundle of life, and in this I feel your strength; here I can lie down and even rejoice with you in your bonds! Many a blessed night and day have I felt, when the body hath been in bonds; and I know the same Life is with you. *That* fountain is but one, and your refreshings are from it. This gives patience to wait, until he say to the winds and storms, and foaming boisterous sea, '*Be still:*'—for he will not let his people be overwhelmed.

"And it is in my heart, that the Lord hath a day of breaking through, yet more and more, in that nation. There hath been a darkness over the land as yet, only some seed sown here and there; and by suffering, will the Lord raise it yet more plentifully. And the cry is in my heart, and many a day hath been for the land of my nativity, that the veil might be rent, that the power of death might be broken, that the captives

might come forth: and a faith is with me, that the Lord will visit, and the blessed day will yet break forth more and more there. You have been made to sound the alarm;—glory to our God for it for ever! Rejoice and be glad, that you are some of 'the first fruits' there unto God. And the breathing of my soul to the Lord is, that you may be preserved and kept, over all temptations and snares, suffering patiently, waiting the Lord's way and time for your bonds to be taken off. Our God is a God of love, pity, and compassion; he hath been with us in trials, hath visited us in bonds; yea, our strength hath been renewed, and in the patience have we overcome. Dear hearts! it is a part of your way. The time is not long—we are near our homes, where the devil and his instruments shall not reach us. We are now travelling in our journey; and they seek to hinder us, and now and then buffet us; this is all they can do. The body is often in their power, for the trial of our faith; but, glory to our God! our anchor is sure; they cannot break our hold: but, as gold, shall all the faithful sufferers come forth, to the eternal praise of our God.

"O how have I been filled with joy, when I have heard, how God's power hath broke forth amongst you in prison, and how the glory of the Lord hath filled your vessels!—no news was so welcome to me;—yea, I have tasted of that joy with you.

"Dear Friends, I could write much; but I know God's presence is *your all*, and is beyond all words:—only, that you may feel my joy in the Lord for you, and may feel my love to you all, who are the faithful sufferers for his Truth. Yea, dear Friends, I could lie down with you in your bonds, if it were the will of my Father; and I wait till it may be his will that I see you.

"Friends were refreshed in reading your letter,—

yea, it was gladness to them. We are well here. God's Truth prospers, and *that* is the joy of our hearts, when we see the gathering to the Lord's standard, and when many are inquiring the way to Zion with their faces thitherward.

"So, the Lord God of my life preserve you all in faithfulness to him for ever, who am your brother in the same Truth,

"GAVINE LAWRIE."

This individual, whose name is also sometimes written, Gawen Laurie, was a merchant of London, possibly residing in Hertfordshire, where, it appears by Besse's "Sufferings of Friends," he underwent distraint on his property; but some years after the date of this letter, Robert Barclay, when chosen governor of East Jersey, North America, appointed him deputy-governor of the province, to which was annexed a salary of four hundred pounds. This circumstance and a similar one, that of his being a joint trustee with William Penn and Nicholas Lucas in the assignment of West Jersey for the benefit of the creditors of Bylinge the proprietor, are mentioned, in default of other information, as evidence of the estimation in which he was held by his friends.

It was scarcely to be expected, but that Christians thus oppressed in so tender a point, as that of their unalienable right to worship God according to their conscience, should feel themselves bound in duty to warn their fellow-professors of the name of Christ, to depart from this gross iniquity; it was not to be wondered at, that, in love and pity to immortal souls, and not merely with a view to their own relief, they should boldly declare against such proceedings. Nay, their earnestness of concern would probably increase in

some proportion to the pressure of their trials, urging them to proclaim the right way of the Lord,—the more excellent way,—to set forth the blessed, and opposite, and peaceable fruits that spring from the root of Life, the tree of righteousness, "the incorruptible Seed," "the true Vine."

Thus, we find one of the sufferers, George Gray, in the short interval that elapsed between his discharge and fresh commitment, had it heavily on his mind, to testify the gospel of the grace of God among his neighbours of the town of Old Meldrum on their market-day. No sooner had he finished what he deemed to be his duty in this line of communication, followed through the street by a concourse of people, than he found his friend, Alexander Seaton, entering the place at the opposite extremity, with the like intention of religious usefulness. It was seldom, perhaps, that such opportunities passed off, without some palpable evidence appearing on the part of those addressed, that they needed being exhorted to repentance and amendment of life. On this occasion, John Urchart, the bailie of the town, sadly abused these inoffensive individuals, violently beating them, particularly George Gray, in the very time when he was labouring for their best welfare. Immediately after, as the account states, this furious opponent was seized with very sore pains in his bones and throughout his body, which continued upon him for the greater part of a year. His conscience was at the same time so awakened by this circumstance, that he often confessed his wickedness, in thus ill-treating those who sought his good, promising never to do the like again.

The case of George Chalmers, living at Kinmuck, was somewhat similar to the foregoing. Coming into the Friends' meeting there, with great cruelty he

dragged out his wife by the hair, and sorely beat her; shortly after which, he was strangely smitten, so that he could not speak, and remained as it were in a senseless state for the space of three or four days. On his recovery, the first words he made use of, were, a confession of his guilt in his grievous conduct towards his wife, and towards Friends.

Alexander Burnett, one of the bailies of Aberdeen, and of a like persecuting disposition with the provost, being deputed to attend a meeting of the Commissioners, strove to his utmost to incense them against the "Quakers," strenuously urging, that they might be prevented preaching to the people out of their prison-windows. The Commissioners, willing to put a stop to such supposed danger, gave him an order to remove Patrick Livingston, George Keith, Robert Barclay, John Skene, and Andrew Jaffray to a place out of the town, called the Chapel, where the commissary courts used to sit, and where *they* thought the prisoners might have better accommodation. With this order the provost and bailie were by no means well pleased; and, their aim being rather to incommode than to alleviate, they were not very forward to execute it. But a few days after, observing some of the prisoners in the high prison preaching to the people, great numbers of whom stood in the streets listening with much attention, they were exceedingly angry; and the more so, when they perceived, that after those in the higher prison had done speaking, Andrew Jaffray began to address the multitude out of the lower prison. On this, they immediately employed workmen to nail up the windows of the upper prison, and to stop the very chinks which let in light upon the stairs; and were even for contriving, how they might place iron bars so far within the windows, as that the

prisoners might not come near enough to be heard in the streets. The provost, with Burnett and others, then went into the lower council-house, (a place divided from that in which the prisoners were, only by a boarded partition,) where they swore and raved awfully. At length they concluded to execute the last order of their superiors; only, that, instead of Patrick Livingston, they determined to substitute David Barclay; at the same time, they had John Lesk, Andrew Galloway, Robert Gordon, Ochiltrie Ferindaile, Alexander Seaton, Andrew Fisher, and John Cowie removed from the lower to the higher prison. This was done on the 17th of the 1st month, 1677.

Those, however, who were sent to the Chapel, instead of having better accommodation, were put into a small, cold, narrow place, at the end of it, which had a great door opening to the eastern ocean, without any fence. Here, there was very little room more than to contain their beds, and only one window, so small, that the inmates could not see, even to eat their food, unless by candle-light, or whilst the door was set open by the keeper, at the times when he came to let in their provisions. On these occasions, it was usual for a servant to come and sweep out the place; and when, to make room for him to do this, some of the prisoners would step a few paces on the outside of the door, the provost sharply reproved the keeper, for letting them have that liberty for a few minutes' breathing. The little room they were confined in, had a chimney, but very subject to smoke. They would occasionally have a fire; but being obliged to send each time into the town for fuel, it was proposed to allow them the use of a small place under their chamber, to lay some peat in. This the gaoler dare not do without the consent of the provost, who, when applied to, roughly

chid the man that kept the key for offering to mention it. Another window might have been readily opened, to give them a little more light; but this suggestion, when made, was rejected with indignation. Thus hardly were the prisoners in the Chapel dealt with;—and, to adopt the words of the biographer of Robert Barclay, "Such was then the treatment of a man, who had lately been well received at courts; who had then published a work which will long render his name eminent in the religious world; and, it may not be uninstructive to add, many of whose numerous descendants are now surrounded with most of the accommodations which opulence can bestow, and with much more than the simplicity of the Christian life requires." R. Barclay's Life, p. 36.

But the case of those confined in the higher prison at the Tolbooth was yet more grievous. They were so straitened for room, that they could not lay their beds, but were obliged to place them one above another on boards, that so they might have some little space to move upon in the day-time; and sometimes the rain, beating in upon them, by wetting the floor, still more narrowed up their standing ground. Add to all this, the unwholesome closeness of the prison, together with its darkness, the windows being blocked up with boards, and the reader may form some idea, how deplorable must have been the condition of men thus confined, and for so long a period. Every night were they locked up in two rooms for the space of fifteen hours, nor had they for several days together such attention paid them as even decency requires. While they lay in this miserable state, *eight* others of their brethren, taken at their religious meetings, were added to their number, namely, Alexander Skene, (the same that had formerly been a magistrate,) Robert

Burnett of Lethentie, Alexander Gellie, John Forbes of Aquorthies, John Robertson, Robert Sandilands, Robert Milne, and John Mercer; but some of these, for want of space, were obliged to lodge themselves among the debtors and other prisoners, who lay in the lower vaults much thronged.

The relations and acquaintance of these sufferers, with many sober inhabitants of the town, being sorely grieved at such inhuman usage, applied to the magistrates to prevent their death, of which the physicians actually declared them to be in danger. With this view, they sued for their removal into the great room of the Chapel; but the provost and bailie Burnett would not admit it, the latter saying, *He would pack them like salmon in a barrel, and though they stood as close as the fingers on his hands, yet they should have no more room; and that if they had not room in the chambers, they might lie on the stairs*:—the passage of which stairs was so narrow, that one person could hardly pass another.

At length, a friend of the prisoners, under a great concern, wrote the following letter to the provost, which is thought worthy to be here inserted, as showing, that the prisoners or their friends were not wanting in the Christian duty of warning and rebuking unjust and cruel rulers.

"To the Provost of Aberdeen.

"Provost!

"The King of kings, who is Lord both over thee and me, hath laid it upon me, so that I may not forbear, without incurring his displeasure, to write unto thee touching thy present office, and thy exercise thereof in this city. Wherefore, in his fear and dread consider it, and reject not, I beseech thee,

what is thus offered, because coming from one whom thou despisest, but seek to hear the voice of the Lord, and to know his will thereby.

"Thou art appearing cruel against the servants of the living God, whom one day thou wilt see he owns, and to whom he will give a better kingdom than an earthly one. But because thou art not willing to see and acknowledge them such, what I am to lay before thee shall be, laying aside that part of the difference betwixt us, *Whether they be, or be not, the people of the Lord:* for it is beyond doubt to me, the Lord having made me to see they are his, and joined my heart unto them and their testimony; and thou, it seems, art not yet come to begin the question in good earnest, *From whence are they come?*

"Thy hard thoughts and hard speeches of them are beside the law, wherewith thou defendest some of thy actions, and their manner of imprisonment is thy own deed. Ah! remember, and still keep in thy mind, that for these and all other deeds done in the body thou must give an account,—and thou wilt find thy need of forgiveness; but how canst thou seek or expect it, if thou be void of mercy to any? Albeit there were of us that had wronged thee, what do we owe thee? But *a few pence* in comparison of what thou owest the Lord. And wilt thou fulfil our Lord's parable in plain deeds, to imprison cruelly, and beyond thy superior's orders, for thy own private offence? Verily, though before this time much had been forgiven thee, yet for that very act all thy iniquities may be laid to thy charge, as thou mayst read in Matthew, xviii. 32, 33, 34. Were we thy enemies, as it is likely thou judgest us to be, thou oughtst, as a Christian, to relieve our necessities; and in so doing thou wouldst heap coals of

fire on our heads, and mightst expect thy reward from the Lord. But how much contrary [to this] is it, to increase our necessities, and add to our burdens by closer imprisonment than the law requires, and where there is no necessity for it; there being other convenient houses and places for imprisonment, where there is room enough. Reflect seriously on the measures which thou art giving to others; and be not ashamed to stop, when and where thou seest thou hast done amiss. If thou think, thereby thou art executing justice, and actest righteously, because they walk contrary to thy will, mind what the wise man said, 'Be not righteous overmuch, nor make thyself over-wise: why shouldst thou destroy thyself?' Why should it offend thee, that they preach repentance and remission of sins by believing in Christ *near*, to a multitude of poor wicked people? Can you think worse of them than some formerly really were, who preached Christ out of envy, supposing to add affliction to the afflicted Apostle's bonds? and yet he was far from being cruel unto them, or bidding any so to be, although he was an eminent witness for Truth, and against all deceit. And that they cry aloud from a prison-window, and lift up their voices like a trumpet, is it an injury to thee, or matter of offence justly given? Or canst thou allege, God or man will lay that practice of theirs to thy charge? So that, upon no account, needest thou to be afraid or offended, to suffer them, when *they* are willing for Christ's sake to run all hazards, and be lightly esteemed among men. It is far less for *thee* to bear it. Therefore leave them to their Master, to whom they must stand or fall, that so thou mayst give up thy charge and account with approbation of the Lord, whose favour will be of use, when that of all men will fail."

CHAPTER X.

1677: LILIAS SKENE'S WARNING TO THE MAGISTRATES AND INHABITANTS OF ABERDEEN—CONSOLATORY LETTERS TO THE PRISONERS FROM WILLIAM PENN, RICHARD RAE, AND HECTOR ALLANE.

About this time, Lilias Skene, whose husband Alexander Skene with others had been then recently incarcerated, as we have seen, among all sorts of prisoners, merely for the act of public worship, was constrained, in true honesty and earnestness of desire for the welfare of her neighbours, to lay before them the hazardous consequences of such conduct. In her exhortation may be discovered that Christian love which flows towards enemies, and which enables to pray for those who despitefully use and persecute. Her language is enlivened and confirmed by many apt passages from the Sacred Volume; for, it appears, she was especially versed in these writings, and had much improved in her understanding and application of them, by obeying the dictates of the Spirit of Christ.

"A warning to the Magistrates and Inhabitants of Aberdeen, written the 31st of the 1st month, 1677.

"At several times, and in divers manners, I have witnessed against the will-worship and blind obedience of the inhabitants of this city, since the Lord opened my eyes, and drew me out of that fearful pit. So, at this season, I am moved in the same zeal for the Truth, and compassion towards your souls,

Magistrates, Preachers, and People, to bear an open testimony against the *spirit of persecution*, whereunto ye are now arrived in such a measure, as doth exceed the bounds of humanity and the severity of your predecessors.

"Wherefore, in the fear of the Lord, and in tender love towards you, I warn you to consider what you are doing; that you draw not upon yourselves and this city innocent blood; for, assuredly, the Lord will not hold you guiltless. Every one of you will find it so, according to the measure of your accessions, when the Lord deals with you:—truly, you will have enough to account for, though you keep your hands free from the blood of the innocent people, who suffer for conscience-sake.

"O consider! *If the righteous scarcely be saved, where will the ungodly and unmerciful sinner appear?* What favour or mercy you have shown to particular persons, has not been done unto them as friends of God, but that ye might appear to be men not wholly void of gratitude or natural affection, they being near unto you and in friendship with you: therefore will ye lose your reward. How will ye answer the Lord one day, for thus using his friends and followers? When he shall say unto you, 'I was sick, and ye visited me not; hungry, naked, and in prison, and ye were so far from extending pity or help, that ye made me (in my members) prisoner, naked, hungry, thirsty.' In place of supplying their necessities, ye were instrumental in occasioning them to be greater; for, like Egypt's task-masters, ye have increased the tale of bricks, and instead of setting them at liberty, have added to their bonds.

"And if the magistrates, ministers, and people of this place should say, 'When saw we thee so and

so?' Hereby is it manifest to all who will open their eyes, that Christ may sometimes suffer in his members, when people believe it not, nor are concerned about it. This ought to make all, who have but the letter of the Scripture, tender and cautious; for one answer shall be given unto all, both to those who have not showed mercy, who did not all the good they had power to do, and to those who have done evil, and are willing to do more:—'Inasmuch as ye did so and so to one of the least of these little ones, ye did it unto me.' It will be no cover for you, that the magistrates are under the authority of others above them: nay, examine your own hearts, and you will find, ye have 'willingly walked after the commandment,' as it is written in Hosea, v. 11, 12. Assuredly, the Lord is observing who are doing thus, and who is not. Neither will it excuse you, that your ministers informed you, such men were seducers of the people, and therefore enemies, not friends to God; and that your ministers strengthened your hands, by accounting it *nobility* in magistrates to curb error. These hills and mountains will not cover you:—*they* will need coverings for themselves, if they obtain not mercy to repent and reform.

"But not all that ye say, or that ye act against the Lord's work and witnesses, will discourage a remnant from desiring to be faithful even unto death. For my part, your severities and cruelties are a confirmation unto me, that Truth is not on your side who are persecutors: for, in all ages, he that was born after the flesh, persecuted him that was born after the Spirit. We feel the old hatred; we see the envy of the people; we hear the cry of Edom, crying, 'Raze it, raze it, even to the foundation:' Esau's rough voice has been often heard from your pulpits these thirteen

years past, and has caused us to feel rough hands from civil authority, especially during these last thirteen months. But, glory be unto God for ever! the faithful and obedient are enabled to put their seal to Christ's faithful word, *In the world ye shall have trouble, but in me ye have peace.* I have seen in the light of the Lord, this day of trial is come for the fall and for the rise of many in this place, and our testimony for the Truth is *as a sign spoken against;* yea, the sharpest sufferings the seed hath met with, or shall meet with, are permitted, *that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed,* both among you and among us.

"Wherefore, I beseech you, love your own souls; harden not your hearts from God's fear; neither despise this warning,—the Lord having sent one, *as from the dead,* to warn you; though you have the testimony of Moses and the prophets among you, which whosoever will not hear, there is little ground of hope, such will hear other testimonies, how true soever. If ye had hearkened to that word to which Moses directed, near in the mouth and in the heart, and to which the Lord Christ pointed, teaching every man to do to others as he would be done by, there would be little need of other testimonies. Neither would ye unnecessarily throng in honest men in prison, who have families, wives and children, deeply suffering with them,—and in these cold, nasty, stinking holes, where ye have shut them up,—who have been as neatly handled and tenderly educated as any among you, and as useful in their generation.

"I desire you to acquaint yourselves better with the histories of the church in former ages; and with the remarkable judgments that have befallen persecutors in Old and in New England. And search the

Scriptures of truth: where now are all the persecutors of the people of God in former ages? and, ere long, where will those be that tread in their steps? Where is he that hardened his heart, and refused to let Israel go to serve the Lord? Where is he now, who resolved, that his little finger should be heavier than his predecessor's loins? And where is he, of whom it was said, that he did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that went before him? Doth not the Lord observe those that are at ease in Zion, and forget the afflictions of Joseph, who live gorgeously, and fare delicately every day, and despise the poor?—who put the evil day far away, and cause the seat of violence to come near, that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chiefest ointments,—but are not grieved for the afflictions of Joseph?

"O consider these few instances, with many more such! and say not in your hearts, as those atheists recorded in Scripture, 'All things continue as they were at the beginning,' and 'Where is the promise of his coming?' Death and judgment *will* come, and it may be ere long; but though it should not hastily, yet remember, in the Lord's account, *a thousand years are but as one day.* Moreover, there is another Scripture, which hath weightily arisen in my heart, as applicable to Aberdeen, Jer. li. 1. 'Thus saith the Lord; Behold, I will raise up against Babylon, and against them that dwell in the midst of them that rise up against me, a destroying wind,' &c. My desire is, ye may not be *behind,* with that generation whom John the Baptist addressed, who were forewarned to flee from the wrath to come.

"And now having exonerated my conscience to-

ward you, by obedience towards God, and love towards the inhabitants of Aberdeen, I hope the Lord shall enable me to bear what he may permit you to do towards me or mine, even with that patience which becomes a disciple of the crucified Jesus, and, nevertheless, to remain your souls' well-wisher,

"Lilias Skene."

While some of this faithful band thus pleaded with the *oppressors*, others of their number, at a distance from the spot, were brought near in spirit to the *oppressed;* and deeply sympathizing, endeavoured to animate and console them, their language in effect reviving, as well as sealing the assurance of an Apostle formerly, "But and if ye suffer for righteousness sake, happy are ye; for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you."—One or more effusion bearing this character has been produced in the course of the preceding pages; and it may be satisfactory to such as entertain a value for the remains of William Penn, to have the opportunity of perusing an unpublished letter of this description from his hand. It does not bear a date; but the circumstances indicate with sufficient precision where it should obtain a place in this simple chronicle.

"To the Brethren imprisoned at Aberdeen for the testimony of Jesus.

"Dear Brethren!

"Salvation and peace by Jesus Christ, the Light of the world, our eternal, glorious Day, be multiplied among you,—who is the Rock of safety, and Fountain of everlasting consolations, from whose pure life descends sweet refreshment into the souls of all that love Him in truth and sincerity.

"And I doubt not, my Brethren, but you are witnesses of the same; as a letter from our dear brother, George Keith, giveth me with others hereaway to understand. Which being read among us, broke our hearts and deeply affected our souls, to behold with you the goodness of the Lord unto you in your tribulations. These 'wars and rumours of wars' are certain forerunners of the redemption of your country: and great will their reward be from the Lord, that fly not in this winter time, nor on this sabbath day.

"I feel an immortal spring of pure life rising among you; and can say, I am with you in spirit, and behold the *aurora* of the day of the Lord over Scotland. My Brethren, all, be scattered unto and settled in *your own*, and wait for the feeling of the power of the Lord, that subjects all to him; then wait for the signification of that power: let none quench the Spirit, nor miss of the Spirit's mind; that you may now grow spiritual soldiers, expert, and fitted by these exercises for such spiritual conflicts, as the Lord hath for you to go through, in the Lamb's war. O! these trials are blessed mortifyings to the sensual and worldly man, and for the awakening of the soul to the things that are beyond time and mortality.

"O! you little leaven, and salt of that country, love the pure power, the true and certain power, and grow in it, as trees in winter, downwards, that your root may spread; so shall you stand in all storms and tempests. And, O! blessed are they that firmly believe, patiently and contentedly wait for God's salvation to be completed; God will 'stay' such with his everlasting arm, with 'flagons' of love, and in that pure peace which persecutors neither know nor can take away. My dear Brethren, this suffering is not strange, neither is it for nought. All wait to see the

end of the Lord therein, and all bow thereto, and none resist the Lord's purpose; for this is, to bring up the seed and power into dominion, to make his righteousness and truth known to the world, and his love and his faithfulness unto you, and to keep that down, which for want of exercise might overgrow the Truth in the particular. Much I see of the Lord's wisdom, mercy, and goodness in this thing, and it will end for his glory, I am persuaded; wherefore I can say, be of good cheer, for everlasting strength is with you and in you.

"The affairs of Truth hereaway are very well. The Lord's power reigns over public and private oppositions. Our meetings are very large and quiet, and Friends generally well: yet great sufferings upon the 1st, 23rd, 29th, 35th of Elizabeth, and the 2nd and 3rd of James; and I see not but sufferings hasten upon us more and more. You are in our remembrance to be mentioned with others to the King and Council. And so, [we must] leave our cause with the Lord, who will arise in his due time for his poor seed's sake; and blessed are they that are not offended in him, nor his dealings, dispensations, or tribulations. Many are the troubles of the righteous, but out of them all shall they be delivered in time,—that is, not ours but the Father's time, whose will must be done in earth as it is in heaven.

"This, with my endeared salutation to you all, my heavenly kindred, and fellow-travellers in the narrow way that leads to the eternal rest, concludes this epistle, from your faithful, sympathizing Friend and Brother in the tribulation and patience of the kingdom of Jesus,

"William Penn."

Two other epistolary communications are also recorded, as being about this time welcomed by those, who had learned in the school of Christ Jesus to love one another, and that "with a pure heart fervently,"—being engaged in good measure to purify their "souls in obeying the Truth, through the Spirit, unto unfeigned love of the brethren." 1 Peter, i. 22. The first of them is as follows.

"Edinburgh, 16th of 11th month, 1676.

"Dearly beloved Friends in and about Aberdeen, and especially you that are in bonds, who suffer for the testimony of a good conscience! As you keep innocent and blameless before God, and labour continually so to do, and look back and read in your hearts the ground and cause for which you suffer, it will minister joy and soul-satisfaction unto you. For it ever did so to me: I bless my God, *outward* imprisonment was never a prison to me; though I suffered *near two years together* in Edinburgh, *and was never a quarter of an hour all that time from under their fingers;* being deprived of the enjoyment of *all good Friends,* and was cast among *thieves, and robbers, and murderers,*—such unclean spirits, as I never yet did see worse upon the earth. And, as I remember, *for the space of two months and upwards, I could not say there was one quiet hour either by night or day;*—and this fell to my lot even in the time of my weakness. Then, the consideration what I suffered for, did still minister satisfaction unto me; for I could take the Lord to record, that I suffered for the testimony of a good conscience; the remembrance of which caused my inward man exceedingly to rejoice. And so, blessed for ever be the God of my salvation, that caused me, in his love which is stronger than

death,' to rejoice over all my sufferings! Thus, in this love of God, I reigned over all my enemies; and though in prison, yet was I a *freeman*, for 'where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.' And my sufferings were even *joyous* unto me, but never *grievous;* for the Lord revealed it unto me, that it was a more honourable crown than all the crowns of the whole creation, to be a sufferer for the Truth of God! And this he made clear to me, at a time when I was near to sink; then he raised me up above all, and gave me strength to press forward towards the mark for the prize of our high calling.

"And now, my dear Friends, be faithful, noble, and valiant for the Truth upon the earth! *for you may bless the day, that ever you were born, who are called unto such a blessed calling, as to suffer for the testimony of a good conscience.* So, my dear Friends, *keep your testimony, for it is your life.*

"And now, my dear Friends, I beseech you, keep in innocency, and commit your cause unto the just God, for he will certainly plead the cause of the innocent: this I do infallibly know. Therefore, my dear Friends, love your enemies, and pray for them, and entreat the Lord, that he may open their eyes, if it be his blessed will, and convince them of the evil of their doings.

"Richard Rae."

It will be readily perceived, that the foregoing production came from the pen of one, very differently qualified, in respect both to education and natural endowment, from the writer of the epistle that precedes it. In fact, Richard Rae was by trade a shoemaker; and it may be remembered, he has been already noticed in preceding pages of this volume, as

one of the first in Scotland that became a "Quaker preacher;" being also the individual who, earlier than any other of that people, tasted imprisonment at Aberdeen, whither he had come in the love of the gospel to visit his brethren. It is not by any means improbable, that the following circumstance, named by Robert Barclay in his "Apology," may have allusion to this friend: namely, That he knew a poor shoemaker, not able to read a word, who was taken before a magistrate of a city, for preaching to some few that came to hear him; when, being assaulted with a false citation of Scripture from a learned professor of divinity, who constantly asserted his saying to be a Scripture sentence, the poor man still maintained, that the Spirit of God never said such a thing as the other affirmed: a Bible was brought, and it was found to be as the illiterate shoemaker had said. Should the reader be of the number of those, who can believe with William Penn himself, that from among the *shoemakers, mechanics,* and *husbandmen* may be, and once were called forth, "our best preachers;" and with Robert Barclay, that "the Spirit and grace of God can make up the want of literature in the most rustic and ignorant;" he will be likely no less to appreciate the "savour of Life" and simplicity of the Truth, conveyed through homely language, than through a more refined medium. See "Select Anecdotes" relating to the Society of Friends, by the Author of this volume, p. 10; also R. Barclay's Works 1692, fol. p. 423.—Indeed, to the quickened mind, that has the spiritual "senses" "by reason of use" "exercised to discern both good and evil," it is beautiful to observe, what a harmonizing tendency there is, in all the various administrations of Divine virtue to the different members of the

one body; each part that is "fitly compacted together," being rendered subservient to the well-being of the whole—"to the edifying of the body in love." The little "household of faith" at Aberdeen, no doubt had their occasion, to feel the worth and import of what the Apostle Paul declared to the Corinthians: "The eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee." For "those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary," and such also as "we think to be less honourable;" seeing "God hath set the members, every one of them, in the body as it hath pleased him," "that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another." 1 Cor. 12. This subject is beautifully touched upon in the next letter, addressed to the same party; and which afresh discovers, how this people watched over each other for good, and by love served one another.

"Leith, 3rd of 11th month, 1676.

"Dear Friends,

"In the sense of that Life, which visited me in the beginning, am I drawn forth to write unto you, who are now *stayed* for the blessed testimony of our God. I know the Lord is with you, and his everlasting arm is near, and underneath to uphold you in this great trial, [even He] who hath not been wanting to prepare you for this honourable service. Dear Friends, I am one with you in your sufferings and in your joy; and I feel a travail for you in the general, that you may stand faithful witnesses for the Lord, as many faithful brethren have done before you, in this and former generations, who now reap the fruit of their labours, and their memory is blessed [even] to all eternity.

"Friends! feel the everlasting Life, and drink of the living springs that proceed therefrom, which God hath opened unto you: *this* is your reward at the hand of the Lord; let your minds be stayed in *that*, and you are over all that the devil and his instruments may do unto you. Look not out, neither be weary in well-doing, and your deliverance will come in the Lord's season. He that hath wrought your *soul's* deliverance, is not unmindful of you that are faithful unto him. But if any draw back, they will lose their reward, and the Lord will be provoked.

"So, dear Brethren, encourage one another in the Lord: and you that are strong, (whom the Lord hath made so,) help the weak, and bear with them, and travail one with and for another, in the spirit of love and meekness; *and have a high esteem of, and respect unto, the weakest member for the Head's sake*, Christ Jesus our Lord, who shed his blood for all, and is near unto you to behold your conversation inwardly and outwardly. Grieve him not, nor oppress his seed in one another; so shall you be known to be the children of the heavenly and royal birth; and, in due time, when the Lord hath done his work in you and by you, he will bring you forth with a high hand in the sight of your enemies, and you shall shine with the beauty of the Lord, and the Lord will add unto you, and you will rejoice to behold the wisdom and power of God. And care not for your outward loss, which in the end will be great gain: they that have laid down their heads in our Father's bosom, repent not, that they have suffered these things for Christ's sake.

"So, in the love of our God, have I written these few things unto you, my dearly beloved Friends; in *this* let us dwell together, and we are sure our

dwelling is in God, whatever the world may say. And to Him that is able to keep you, both in soul and body, both in your inward and outward afflictions and temptations, I leave you, who is God only wise and powerful, blessed for ever!

"From your Friend and Brother,

"HECTOR ALLANE."

CHAPTER XI.

1677: PRETENCE, THAT THE "QUAKERS" WERE *POPISHLY* AFFECTED—THE KING'S COMMISSIONERS GRANT THEM PRESENT RELIEF: SOME OF THE PRISONERS OBTAIN THEIR LIBERTY, OTHERS ARE REMOVED TO BANFF—PREVIOUS TO THIS, FRIENDS ADDRESS THE COUNCIL, AND ROBERT BARCLAY WRITES TO ARCHBISHOP SHARPE—MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE MAGISTRATES OF ABERDEEN AND THE UNDER-SHERIFF—DISGRACEFUL AFFAIR AMONG THE INSTIGATORS OF PERSECUTION—JOHN FORBES, DEPUTY-SHERIFF, AND THE MAGISTRATES OF BANFF, TREAT THE PRISONERS WITH GREAT CIVILITY—ABERDEEN PRISON FOR A SHORT INTERVAL CLEARED OF FRIENDS.

One of the chief pretences, which the public preachers and magistrates made use of, to palliate their unjustifiable treatment of the people called Quakers, was, that they were *Popishly affected*, and advancers of the interests of the Church of Rome:—a pretence altogether false and groundless. At the same time, they themselves were by no means clear of openly flattering and caressing the most eminent Papists in the land; as the following instance proves.

The Marquis of Huntly, as noted a Papist as any in Scotland, and one who greatly promoted that class, was bringing home his wife, the daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, one of the foremost among the same persuasion in England, and she herself very zealous in the Roman Catholic religion. On their entrance into Aberdeen, the magistrates drew together a great number of the citizens, and with much parade went forth to meet them, expressing all the usual tokens of the utmost respect; so that on that occasion, "the whole town appeared in a manner taken up with the grandeur of the ceremony." This was not

noticed by the Friends of that day, with a view of detracting from the station of the Marquis; but only to show the hypocrisy of those, who, while they themselves publicly flattered and paid great attentions to the chief Papists, could thus colour their cruel persecution of the poor "Quakers" with the pretence of their affinity to Popery.

In the second month, 1677, the Commissioners of the Council met again at Ellon, where Burnett the bailie was again deputed to attend them, and strenuously endeavoured to justify their proceedings against this people, under the idle pretext, that they had not room for their better accommodation. But, many persons appearing on behalf of the prisoners, and representing the cruelty of their confinement, the Commissioners resolved to afford them some present relief; and thereupon decreed, That, *considering the extraordinary trouble sustained by the magistrates and burgh of Aberdeen, through the many Quaker conventicles held in the Tolbooth, and that others have been urged to throw themselves into the snare of imprisonment, for the purpose of molestation,*—the following persons be removed from thence to the Tolbooth of the burgh of Banff, till further orders; namely, Robert Barclay, George Keith, Patrick Livingston, John Skene, James Halliday, Thomas Mercer, John Lesk, John Cowie, and Thomas Milne. Likewise, that David Barclay, Alexander Skene, Robert Burnett, Alexander Gellie, and Andrew Jaffray, be removed from the prison of Aberdeen, and confine themselves to their country houses and parishes; at the same time, to be prohibited from permitting unlawful meetings in their houses, or frequenting them elsewhere.

In making this decree, there is reason to believe,

that the Commissioners were some way influenced by the King's recommendation to the Council at Edinburgh before recited. This recommendation, as we have seen, had been referred by the latter body, to certain Commissioners appointed for carrying into execution some acts of the Scottish Parliament, against what was termed "keeping conventicles, and withdrawing from divine worship." It was under these acts, that the Friends in the north of Scotland had been persecuted; and it was by some of these same Commissioners, that the above decree was made.

Pursuant to such decision, five of the prisoners were set at liberty; but, on being told the purport of the Council's order, as to their confinement within their respective parishes, and prohibition from attending meetings, they answered, That they accepted their liberty, but as to the restriction enjoined upon them, they must act as they should find it their duty. Those who were ordered to be removed to Banff, were delivered over to the sheriff, who gave *them* also their liberty, on condition of being forthcoming, when he should appoint a time to convey them thither.

Before this took place, however, the Friends had thought it right to represent their case in an address to the Council itself. And further, Robert Barclay, being informed, that the Archbishop Sharpe, was a chief instigator of their sufferings, had expostulated with him in a very plain and forcible letter, full of "sound wisdom and discretion." The address and letter are as follow.

"*Unto the King's Council, the suffering People of God, called Quakers, in and about Aberdeen,* Showeth,

"That albeit the nature of our known principles, and our practice thereunto corresponding,

since we were a people in this nation, free us of all just ground of suspicion of being disturbers of the common peace, or prejudicial to the present government; and that the innocent and harmless exercise of our consciences in our peaceable and Christian assemblies, doth not, as we conceive, come under the genuine purpose of those laws made against the seditious conventicles. Yet, upon the Council's declaration emitted a year ago, upon the 12th of the month, called March, 1676, several of us were taken prisoners, and afterward at sundry times to the number of forty and upwards; against whom these acts being executed to the rigour, many of them have had their goods miserably spoiled, most to the double and some to the triple, of their fines uplifted, of which divers are again retaken, to the great prejudice and apparent ruin of several poor and desolate families, and the impairment of our health, having wanted the accommodation of fire this cold winter season. And now of late, to sum up all with an unparalleled piece of inhumanity, certain of the magistrates of this place, have by importunity obtained an order from some of the Council's Commissioners here, to dispose of us in some other place;—upon pretence that their court-house could not be spared longer for a prison for us, notwithstanding they have an empty place where they could, and others of them would have secured us;—yet, by a certain malicious barbarity, shameful to be named among Christians, *they have thronged up fifteen of us in two narrow, stinking holes, where each of us have not so much room as could not be denied us in the grave-yard, and so are forced to lie one above another with boxes*, notwithstanding the vault below, and not water-tight; and others of us they have put in a cold, dark, narrow place within the town.

" May it therefore please the King's Council, seriously to weigh and consider our condition, who have been now *above a year* in prison, and order our releasement: leaving to the magistrates of this place, to inform the Council of what they have or can say against our peaceableness, to make use of the pretence of law to execute their private prejudices by continually imprisoning us. And we shall then be always most ready to present ourselves before the Council, upon the smallest intimation;—as at this time we are willing to do, in case the Council shall see meet, or think we have aggravated our sufferings;—not doubting, but upon a full and impartial hearing, it will appear we have been (all circumstances considered) very forbearing and modest in this address; and therefore shall expect, that the Council, according to the wisdom and justice becoming their station, will comply with this our most reasonable desire, as such who regard equity without respect of persons."

" To James Sharpe, Archbishop of St. Andrews (so called.)

" My being personally unknown to thee, hath hindered me to give way to that pressure of mind, whereby I have felt myself oftentimes moved to write to thee, because I was loath to trouble thee. But, since there is an address intended to be presented to the Council, at their first sitting, in behalf of me and my friends, I could no longer forbear upon this occasion, to signify unto thee what hath been upon my mind for some time towards thee. The address itself will inform thee, how we have been upwards of a year prisoners, and the goods of many poor people miserably spoiled; of which, thou art said to be the chief

and principal author; and that the attempting to persecute us, as well as the prosecution of it, doth proceed from thy influence, as being done either at thy express desire, or by some others, in hopes thereby to gratify thee.

"How far thou art truly guilty thereof, thine own conscience can best tell. But surely, such practices (if thou hast, either directly or indirectly, had a hand in them) will neither commend thee to God nor good men. I presume, thou lookest upon it as thy chiefest honour, to be reputed a Christian bishop, deriving thy authority from Christ and his apostles: but *they* never gave warrant for any such doing, being preachers and practisers of patience and suffering, but never of persecuting, or causing rob any of their goods or liberties, for their conscience sake. And long after, even several centuries, the primitive bishops abhorred and detested such proceedings. Hence, the excellent and zealous Athanasius saith, That it is the devil's work, and not God's, to force men's consciences; affirming, That the blasphemous Arians (who were the first bearing the name of Christians that used this practice) have learned so to do, not of God, but of the devil and his wicked angels.

"Considerable are the testimonies of Tertullian, Hæsius, Hilarius, Jerom, and others, given to the same truth; so that Ambrose declares, That, going into France, he refused all communion with such bishops, that had any fellowship with those that sought to destroy even such as were departed from the faith. I confess, the bloody bishops of Rome gave large precedents of such actings; but, I suppose, thou art not ambitious to be ranked among them, or to be accounted an imitator of them in that respect.

"How far thou art justifiable in thy concurring with, or advising the persecution of the Presbyterian dissenters, is not my business to determine. But I am confident, thou art willing it should be judged, that thy so doing against them, is not merely for their consciences; but because their principles do naturally, or necessarily, imply an innovation in the State, and thy personal ruin;—believing, not only military resistance just, to protect themselves against authority, but also an offensive endeavour to turn out their superiors, and establish themselves in their overthrow, both lawful and laudable,—as their practice hath sufficiently demonstrated.

"But should thou now be found a positive persecutor of such, against whom nothing of that kind, neither from principle nor practice, can be alleged, but only the simple exercise of their conscience; would not that give plentiful occasion, for such as desire to represent thy other actions with the worst aspect, to show, (whatever thou pretendest of the State's security,) yet thou art a persecutor of *pure conscience*, since thou showest thyself such towards those, against whom the former reason doth not hold?

"And surely, it would seem, that the more our peaceable principle takes place among other dissenters, thy interest will be the more secure;—which is a consideration not unworthy of thy notice, as deserving thy favourable aspect towards us. Perhaps the violence as well of the preachers, as of some magistrates here, from whom our sufferings originally do flow, may at first view seem acceptable to thee, as faithful friends as well of the public as of thy interest;—and, no doubt, they judge with themselves, that they ingratiate themselves with thee, in so doing;—yet, did thou know them as well as some of us

do, thou mightst think it no great absurdity to conclude, as well from their practices as principles, that they would be no less ready to give thee this same treatment, had they but the like opportunity of doing it; and rejoice more in it, as a great service both to God and the 'Kirk of Scotland:' however, that now [being] out of their reach, they make what use of the law they can, both to execute their malice on us, and flatter thee, at this juncture. In short, we have more than reason to believe, that if thou oppose thyself to this our address, it will not be granted; and if thou show thyself moderate and flexible, it will not be denied,—as no mean persons have hinted to us. So, as the one will be an evidence of thy moderation, the other will be a testimony of thy inclination to persecute. I wish then, for thy sake as well as ours, that this occurrence may rather commend thee, than discommend thee.

"And thou mayst assure thyself, that the utmost rigour that can be used to us, shall never be able to make us doubt of, or make us depart from that living, precious Truth, that God in his mercy hath revealed to us, and by us is embraced:—nor yet fright us from the public profession of it;—yea, though we should be pursued to death itself, which, by the grace of God, we hope *cheerfully* to undergo for the same: and we doubt not, but God would out of our ashes raise witnesses, who should outlive all the violence and cruelty of man. And albeit thou should thyself be most inexorable and violent towards us, thou mightst assure thyself, not to receive any evil from us therefore; who, by the grace of God, have learned to suffer patiently, and with our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, to pray for and love our enemies. Yet, as thy so doing to an innocent and inoffensive people, would

be an irreparable loss to thy reputation; so, the God of truth, whom we serve with our spirits in the gospel of his Son, and to whom vengeance belongs, (so we leave it,) would certainly, in his own time and way, avenge our quarrel; whose dreadful judgments should be more terrible unto thee, and much more justly to be feared, than the violent assaults or secret assassinations of thy other antagonists.

"That thou mayst prevent both the one and the other, by a Christian moderation, suitable to the office thou layest claim to, is the desire of thy soul's well-wisher,

"R. Barclay."

"From the Chapel Prison of Aberdeen,
the 26th of the 1st month, 1677."

It is more than probable, that both these documents had weight with that body, of which Sharpe was so prominent a member. For, thereupon, they issued an order to the Commissioners, appointing a day for receiving from them information as to the condition and circumstances of the prisoners; and directed, that, in the mean time, they should be provided with better accommodations. This order of Council caused much dispute between the magistrates of Aberdeen and the under-sheriff: the former insisting, that the sheriff should take to Banff such prisoners as had been ordered thither by the decree of the Commissioners; and the latter refusing to convey them, and pressing the magistrates to accommodate them better, in accordance with the Council's order, which bore a date subsequent to the Commissioners' decree. The contention grew violent, and each party entered formal protests at law against the neglect of the other. Under these circumstances, when neither of the con-

tending parties would accept the disposal of the prisoners, Robert Barclay and five of his companions went before a notary and protested, that *they were freemen, and should pass away about their lawful occasions.*

Most of those who by this means obtained their liberty, went away to Edinburgh, that they might do their utmost to procure the enlargement or relief of their brethren, still detained in bondage; whose condition was in no wise alleviated, notwithstanding the Council's injunction to that purport. But the magistrates were not satisfied with continuing thus unfeelingly and wantonly to oppress their prey; for, even on the very day of the liberation of these Friends above mentioned, they stirred up the Commissioners at Aberdeen, and jointly with them, wrote a virulent letter to the King's Council at Edinburgh against the "Quakers;" in order to hinder them from having access to be heard in their just complaints, which some of their number were at that time attempting to lay before the Council, and for whose sakes Robert Barclay in particular was then strenuously soliciting at Edinburgh.

There happened also at this juncture an occurrence, in which the zeal of the Friends who were still prisoners at Aberdeen, having offended some of the public preachers, excited in like manner the Synod at that place, to join in misrepresenting them to the Council. The case was as follows.—A Synod of the diocese being convened at Aberdeen, several of these professed ministers, having drank too freely, were observed to be staggering in the streets, and actually incapable of walking without the assistance of others. Some of the Friends, taking notice of this fact from the window of their prison, were incited to warn the

people against such conduct; showing, that while those called "Quakers" were imprisoned for meeting peaceably to worship the Almighty, these teachers, whose ministry they were persecuted for relinquishing, were permitted with impunity to stagger up and down the streets with drunkenness, at the very time they professed to be met for the government of the church.

This public rebuke was highly resented as a great indignity to those termed the clergy in general, several of whom wrote to the King's Council expressly about it, representing the Quakers in prison as so insolent and abusive, *that a clergyman could not quietly pass the streets for them.* The magistrates also wrote largely to the Archbishop, earnestly requesting his assistance "*in suppressing the Quakers.*" Thus, by a joint concurrence of the Commissioners, the magistrates of Aberdeen, the Synod of ministers, and the Archbishop, the cause of the innocent sufferers was obstructed; the labours of their brethren with the Council in a great measure frustrated; and the business concerning them again remitted to the Commissioners in the north.

These Commissioners, meeting at Aberdeen on the 16th of the 3rd month, passed a declaration, ratifying, as might be expected, their former sentence against Friends; the execution of which, had been hitherto impeded by the intervention of cross orders from the Council. Pursuant to such decision, John Forbes, the deputy-sheriff, had apprehended several of the Friends, in order to convey them to the Tolbooth of Banff. But this individual, being humane and utterly averse to persecution, treated them with great civility; ordering a guard to attend them thither, with directions to let them have all suitable accommodations on their way, and to take their own time; so that they

were allowed the opportunity of visiting their friends, and holding several religious meetings as they passed along; in which they had such remarkable service, that some of their conductors were convinced, and effectually converted to the blessed, pure, gospel Truth promulgated by them. On their arrival, the prisoners met with a reception far different from that which they had had at Aberdeen; for the magistrates of Banff were courteous and even liberal, not only granting the most commodious arrangements of which the Tolbooth was capable, but permitting them to make use of an inn in the town at their pleasure, during their continuance in the place. In addition to this, these magistrates used their influence with the Commissioners and sheriff to procure the release of the prisoners; nor did they cease from their exertions, until they had obtained liberty for them to return to their several habitations.

But the civil authorities of Aberdeen, on the other hand, had suffered their spirits to be so far imbittered against this people, who had done them no wrong, that neither the example of others, the manifest dislike of the sober and moderate inhabitants, the disgrace they had incurred by their cruelty, nor a regard to justice and equity, had any power to move them to sentiments of humanity.

In one instance, indeed, the provost appears to have been induced, from motives of policy, to suspend the exercise of his malice towards Friends, and to act with some semblance of lenity.—Many of the prisoners of Aberdeen being now at liberty, in consequence of the above-mentioned misunderstanding between the magistrates and sheriff, and others of them, who had lands, being also at large, although considered prisoners on their own estates; the provost

had no longer in his custody those, against whom his prejudice and indignation chiefly burned: that he might, therefore, appear to have some generosity and feeling towards the poorer class, he came to the conclusion, that, *as the greater ones among the "Quakers" had all escaped, he would let go the smaller ones.* They were nine in number; and among them, is the name of poor George Gray, the weaver, who has been before noticed as an example in patient suffering. Accordingly, on the 23rd of the 3rd month, 1677, these presumed offenders against the laws were dismissed from their confinement; but with the fixed intention, on the part of the provost, to recommit them, on the earliest occasion of their meeting together for their well-known conscientious purpose,—the worship of an Almighty Creator, the Father of mercies!

CHAPTER XII.

1677: OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURE OF THE TESTIMONY COMMITTED TO THESE WITNESSES OF CHRIST—ANDREW JAFFRAY'S VERY UNUSUAL EXERCISE—FRESH IMPRISONMENTS OF FRIENDS, ON ACCOUNT OF MEETINGS FOR WORSHIP—CASE OF ROBERT GERARD—THE FIRMNESS AND MEEKNESS OF THE SUFFERERS—LETTER OF GEORGE FOX "TO THE SUFFERING FRIENDS IN SCOTLAND"—THEIR SITUATION AT MONTROSE; THEY ARE DEBARRED, IN THE WINTER SEASON, FROM WORKING FOR THEIR FAMILIES—ALEXANDER SEATON CONFINED AMONG THEM—ALL PASSAGES FOR LIGHT OR AIR CLOSED, TO HINDER HIS PREACHING TO THE PEOPLE—ANDREW JAFFRAY BOLDLY EXPOSTULATES WITH THE CHIEF INSTIGATOR OF PERSECUTION AT THAT PLACE; AND IS THRUST INTO A DUNGEON VAULT, AND CRUELLY BEATEN—REMARKABLE SENSE OF RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE.

The present was the first time, since the commencement of the persecution, that the prison of Aberdeen was altogether clear of these sufferers. But thus it did not long continue: for very shortly afterward, as might be anticipated, were they more closely imprisoned and more hardly used than ever; so as to leave little doubt on their minds, that the design with some of the persecuting parties, was nothing short of cutting off the very lives of such faithful and uncompromising witnesses to the Spirit of Christ Jesus. The plain and constant testimony of these, by conduct and conversation, by word and doctrine, by doing and by suffering, was *no other than it still remains to be at the present day*,—and will yet continue, so long as they are preserved a living remnant on the sure Foundation. They could not, when and as they felt Divine Love and Wisdom constraining, neither dare they, withhold the word of warning, where they believed it to be due, "to flee from the wrath to come;"—they could not spare sin, nor soothe people in sin, nor prophesy

sin-pleasing deceits, neither could they approve of those who did so. It was this that rendered them, as it always must, an eyesore and an offence to evil doers, and to all who corrupt or pervert the doctrine of Christ, which is indeed "according to godliness;" it was this that occasioned them to be reputed, and actually called, "a trouble," "a plague," "a contagion," of which it were well to cleanse the polluted district; and thus the language of an apocryphal writer of old, became well fitted to the mouths of these persecutors: "Therefore let us lie in wait for the righteous; because he is not for our turn, and he is clean contrary to our doings.——He professeth to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the child of the Lord. He was made to reprove our thoughts. He is grievous unto us even to behold: for his life is not like other men's, his ways are of another fashion. We are esteemed of him as counterfeits: he abstaineth from our ways as filthiness: he pronounceth the end of the just to be blessed.—— Let us examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience." Wisdom of Solomon, ii. 12, &c.

During such a state of things,—when evil was called good, and good evil, when darkness was put for light, and light for darkness, bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter;—when, independently of the gross and defective moral condition of the people *generally*, they that worked wickedness were set up, such leaders amongst them causing them to err, and keeping them from the light of righteousness, so that judgment was turned away backward, and justice stood afar off; (for truth might be said to have fallen in the street, and equity could not enter;)—yea, when truth as it were failed, and he that departed from

evil made himself a prey,—a snare being laid for him that reproved sin in the gate;—was it to be marvelled at, was it to be stumbled at, that singular burdens, suited in some sort to unsound, unreasonable times,—burdens similar to those, that were laid upon servants of the Holy One in ancient days, should be also devolving upon such, as endeavoured to follow in *their* footsteps, upholding the same testimony, speaking the same language, standing upon the same ground of faith, upon the same Rock?

But, quitting the line of presumptive reasoning from analogy, as to what the supreme Orderer of human affairs and human conduct might see meet, on peculiar occasions, to require at the hands of any,—as, indeed, "he giveth not account of any of his matters," further than he may please;—and without venturing to denounce sentence on such cases;—the reader is now to be made acquainted with the very unusual impression of duty which befell the zealous son of *our humble-minded Diarist.*

Andrew Jaffray, of whose parentage, condition in life, education, and conversion to the faith and practice of this Society, some intimation has been already given, became deeply affected and laden in his mind, under an unusual sense of the corrupt and ungodly condition of many of his fellow-citizens. Their practices, however highly esteemed or justified by men, he had reason to apprehend, were as an abomination in the sight of One, who seeth not as man seeth, and whose eyes are *as a flame of fire.* He believed they were covering themselves with a covering, but not of the Lord's Spirit, and that their case resembled that of the "whited sepulchres," which *inwardly were full of all uncleanness.* This religious exercise growing upon him, he wrote an address to his neighbours,

urging upon them to turn to the Lord with a true heart, from whom they had deeply revolted, and with full purpose of soul to serve him. At length he was led to believe, that he could not divest himself of the burden that lay upon him, nor obtain relief to his tried spirit, so as to be "clear of the blood" of such, without *himself becoming as a spectacle and a sign among the people*, to rebuke and expose, in a prophetic manner in his own person, the offensiveness of sin. He accordingly gave up to the humiliating act, of passing through the streets of Aberdeen, on the 1st of the 4th month, being the market-day,—(the scene where his honoured father had obtained the favour even of royalty)—the upper part of his body being naked, and having in his hand, that which might prove in the view of beholders, as fit an emblem as could be chosen, of the loathsomeness of all their performances and profession in religion, without *washing their hearts from iniquity*.

This very significant, though uncommon appearance of his, from which poor nature revolted, was accompanied by a zealous exhortation to timely repentance, and thorough amendment of life. His sincere and Christian earnestness for their reformation, harmless and also disinterested as at least it must have been, but prompted, he avers, by true love to their immortal souls, met with such reception from the magistrates, that he was violently dragged away to prison, and closely shut up as a most dangerous person. The windows of the prison (where it appears there were others of the Friends by this time in durance,) were thereupon ordered to be effectually blocked up; which, however, by no means precluded some powerful addresses from being sounded

forth in the ears of the people, who collected in the streets below. It was observed, that the professed ministers of religion joined with the magistrates in this treatment of an innocent man for preaching repentance; when, on the same day, they suffered a great deal of vanity and abomination, yea, blasphemy against the Holy Spirit of God, to be acted and uttered on a public stage in the open market-place, without any the least restraint or rebuke either from magistrates or ministers; whose zeal, totally employed in persecuting the innocent, could pass by the most public inducements to vice and immorality, as things beneath their notice.

It is only due to this individual, whose name has been thus prominently put forth, in conjunction with so strange a procedure, to introduce in this place a passage from the testimony written concerning him, after his decease, by his friend Robert Barclay, *junior*, (as he has been called, being the son of the *Apologist* of the same name.) Should any thing be needed in the view of general readers, to substantiate the estimable character of Andrew Jaffray, both in a civil and religious point of view, such a passage is calculated to do so. And with regard to members of the same denomination in this day, it may serve as an encouraging confirmation *to them*, of the intrinsic value of endeavouring to maintain, through life, *the straight-forward, even tenour of adherence to known duty*. The latter class of readers will surely be prepared to anticipate and enlarge on reflections such as this,—that it is the truest, safest, happiest policy, "herein" to "exercise" ourselves, "to have always a conscience void of offence toward God, and [so far as in us lies] toward man;" knowing beyond all doubt, "it *shall* be well with them that

fear before him," and "them that honour *him, he* will honour.

Extract from R. B's testimony respecting A. J.— "This was particularly observed concerning him,— that in the streets of the same city, where he had often been reproachfully pointed at, for the Truth's sake and his testimony to it, he, in his latter years, was *wishfully looked upon, with affection and veneration, and blessed, as he passed along;* of which I have *often* been both an eye and an ear witness."

Through the summer and autumn of this year, 1677, the Friends continued to be molested in their peaceable assemblies; and, upon their refusal to obey the command of those who required them to separate, were from time to time seized, and even with violence dragged away to prison. The list of names, of those committed from their Monthly Meeting on the 15th of the 4th month, stands as follows: David Barclay, Robert Burnett of Lethinty, Patrick Livingston, George Gray, John Glennie, Robert Gordon, James Birneise, George Melvill, Andrew Fisher, John Mercer, and Alexander Seaton: these were all "thronged up" into the usual place of confinement. On the 2nd of the 8th month, John Watson, an Englishman, and James Findlay, a Friend from the western part of the country, who had come to visit their Friends, received the like treatment, together with Alexander Skene and two others. Among such instances as these, Robert Gerard, having been absent from home, was intercepted on his return to Aberdeen, and led away to gaol;— and this appears to have been the occasion. A child of his, removed by death, had been interred during his absence, in the Friend's burial-ground; a fine was imposed upon him, for the alleged avoidance thereby of certain burial-fees usually demanded in such cases;

his goods were seized to satisfy the fees, and he torn from his family and home under circumstances of affliction, which rendered his case a peculiarly aggravated one.

But, this people, fervently seeking of the Lord, in like manner as the Apostle for his fellow-believers, Col. i. 11, that they might be "strengthened with all might, according to his glorious power, unto all patience and longsuffering with joyfulness," were abundantly favoured with ability to sustain what was permitted to befall them at the hands of unreasonable men. It was by "looking unto Jesus," and considering "him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself," that they, through his grace, were kept from being weary and faint in their minds. Indeed, their very enemies were reduced to marvel at their meekness and patience—so cheerfully did they take the spoiling of their goods; even "rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer" any kind of shame for His sake, who had taught and engaged them by his presence and goodness, not to forsake the assembling of themselves together. Yet, in order to take off from the weight and effect of such conduct, these opponents would tauntingly disparage their motives, by affirming, that *the Quakers liked well to go to prison, they had such good fare there.* In order to meet as well as to manifest such malicious aspersions, "the Lord stirred in them a resolution," (as the account states,) for the space of two or three months together, merely to give up their bodies *passively* to the operation of the law, or rather, of the wills of those who hated them; and by no means *actively*, in any wise, *even to appear* to procure or promote their own bondage. So long as this exercise continued with them, they were, in consequence, actually "*hauled down as beasts for the*

slaughter," and "clasped together by the workmen" employed to convey them away.

It was during the continuance of this state of things, that the succeeding comfortable and enlivening lines from the hand of George Fox, reached the company at Aberdeen.

"For the suffering Friends in Scotland.

"4th of 5th month, 1677.

"My dear Friends,

"To whom is my love, in the everlasting Seed, that reigns over all, and 'will grind to powder' all your persecutors, and the devil that is the cause of them, who fighteth against the light, which is the life in Christ, as he did against Him in the flesh, above sixteen hundred years ago.

"And now, my Friends, suffer as lambs in the time of your sufferings: let all your wills be subjected with patience, which hath the victory, and runneth the race, and obtaineth the crown of life: and be as willing to go to suffer for Christ's sake,—as the Apostle said: And it is not only given you to believe, but to suffer for His name's sake, in whom you have salvation; for they that suffer for righteousness' sake are blessed, and theirs is the kingdom of God. And, by faith the holy men of God had the victory, as you may see at large in Hebrews 11th ch. So, nothing is overcome by any man's will, but by faith that giveth access to God, in which they please God. And [thus] I do believe, that all your sufferings will be for good; both to the stablishing yourselves upon the holy Rock of life, (who was the foundation of the sufferers, the prophets and the apostles, who is the Anointed and the Saviour,) and to the answering that of God in all people:—For the Lord hath a great work and seed in that nation.

"So, live in the Spirit, that mortifieth all, and circumciseth all, and baptizeth all, that, in the Spirit, you may sow to the Spirit, and of the Spirit reap life eternal. For there are seedsmen enough in your nation, and makers of seedsmen in the form and the letter, which soweth to the flesh, and in their field they may reap abundance of corruption.

"So, my desires are, that you may be all alive to God, and live in the living unity of the Spirit, which is the bond of the heavenly peace, which passeth the knowledge of the world; so that the eternal joys may transcend all your sufferings, and carry you above them; and thus, in love to God and in love to your persecutors, you can pray for them, in that you suffer for their good. And this suffering is above all the sufferers in the world without love and charity, which maketh one another to suffer for getting the upper hand. But such are not the sufferers of the true Lord Jesus, who suffered, though he was a-top of all, yet he made none to suffer; and when he was reviled, he reviled not again, but said, 'Father, forgive them,' and committed himself to him that judgeth righteously. So, let the same mind be in you, as was in Christ Jesus; for the apostles said, that they had the mind of Christ; and He, the Lamb, overcame, and the Lamb *hath* the victory, and his sanctified ones follow him: *glory to his name for ever, amen! Holy! worthy of praises!*

"So, remember me to all Friends in Scotland, both north, and west, and south; and let them have copies of this.

"George Fox."

Some few further statements, in addition to those given at page 311, are now to be laid before the reader,

relating to the situation of the Friends at Montrose, who, it will be recollected, were but few in number.—The true worship of the Almighty, which is "in spirit," whether divested of or clothed in words, continued to be so great an occasion of offence, and so repugnant to the persecutors, that they went on in increasing malice and fury, shamefully to entreat these "poor innocents," as if they even thirsted for their blood. No sooner did any meet together to perform this reasonable service, than they were cast into prison; and at length, from one of them, James Nuccoll, a tailor by trade, they took away his work, alleging, he was not a freeman of the town; whereas, he had long before obtained from them a promise of his freedom, and had sought, but in vain, to pay for and enter it. In this course, they were mightily incited by the same David Lyall, their stated preacher, who had been so active in the like wicked work at Aberdeen. The magistrates, having sent to prison several of these individuals in the midst of the winter of 1677, were so cruel, as to deprive those of work, who could labour at their outward callings for a livelihood, at the same time threatening all those who should in any wise pity or relieve them. And when Alexander Seaton, a Friend among the prisoners at Aberdeen, had got liberty to visit his imprisoned friends at Montrose, he was himself detained with them. On one occasion, because he exhorted the people that passed by the window in the street, to fear the Lord, and mind his light and Spirit in themselves that strove with them, these oppressors were much incensed, and had all the windows and passages for light or air, wholly closed up for several days.

About this time also, Andrew Jaffray, having set out on some occasion from the prison in Aberdeen, felt

an impression of duty to go to Montrose, and to bear a testimony for the Truth of Christ in the public place of worship there. It seems, David Lyall had been grievously railing from his pulpit against the Friends, endeavouring to render them odious in the eyes of the people, both as to their doctrine and practice. On hearing this, the mind of Andrew Jaffray became confirmed, and settled in the intention, of publicly expostulating with this person, before his own people on the very next day, being the 29th of the 11th month. Accordingly, he waited in the grave-yard, till the congregation were beginning to withdraw; then went in, and addressed him in bold and plain terms on his unjust allegations, made, as they were, against Friends, at a time when there was no one who could or dared reply to him; desiring him then to make good his charges, and that he was ready to reply to them. But, as soon as words to this effect could be pronounced, at the instigation of David Lyall, Andrew Jaffray was hurried away with great violence into *a dungeon vault, under one of the aisles of the building*, and there confined within two doors, quite out of the reach of any one's hearing, and among the graves of the dead. But mark the language in which this narrative proceeds. "Yet was this place made very comfortable through the sweet presence of the Lord with him" during his abode there, *from the said 3rd day of the week to the 6th*, when, in the night season, they released him from his state of jeopardy; some of those who had sorely beaten him being much ashamed at this their inhuman conduct. It was remarkable, that one of the persons who had thus ill-used this Friend, going to sea shortly after, the vessel was encountered by a Turkish pirate, when, being seized, he was beaten most sadly, beyond all the others.

And at that very time, as he afterward feelingly confessed to a Friend, his conscience so smote him for his cruelty to Andrew Jaffray, that he could not but accept it as a righteous and heavy judgment upon him from God. Thus, the language of Scripture respecting a persecutor appears to have been literally fulfilled, "His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate." Psal. vii. 16.

CHAPTER XIII.

LILIAS SKENE'S EXPOSTULATORY LETTER TO ROBERT MACQUARE—1677: ROBERT BARCLAY'S SECOND JOURNEY TO HOLLAND AND GERMANY: HIS LETTER TO THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH—CONTINUANCE OF PERSECUTION DURING THE SPACE OF TWO YEARS AND A HALF—REFLECTIONS—CONSTANCY OF PATRICK LIVINGSTON—1678: HE, WITH GEORGE GRAY, AND ANDREW JAFFRAY ARE *THRUST UP INTO THE IRON HOUSE*—THE FAVOUR AND PROVIDENCE OF GOD TOWARDS THE SUFFERERS—ARCHBISHOP SHARPE'S END, WITH THE REMOVAL BY DEATH OR OTHERWISE OF THE MOST ACTIVE PERSECUTORS.

An early portion of these Memoirs has been appropriated to an Exhortation from the pen of Alexander Jaffray; and it was designed that, in the present chapter, should be revived a Piece of similar description, but by another hand, and of no ordinary character. It was however found needful, in the arrangements for the volume, that the Piece now alluded to should be consigned to the Notes. This measure was adopted with some reluctance; and therefore the reader is particularly invited to a perusal of the document, before he proceeds further. See Appendix, *X*.

The Friends at Aberdeen were last noticed, as being, through the summer and autumn of 1677, continually harassed with a prison allotment. Before reverting, however, to their condition, and carrying onward the narrative of their trials to its full extent of severity, and to its termination; it will be needful, in the order of events, to turn for a short interval to some engagements of one of their little band, whose temporary separation from his companions and from this scene, placed him in a position for renewed exertions on their behalf,—and in a way, which, it is believed,

materially operated towards their recovery of those civil and religious privileges, from which they had been so long debarred.

Robert Barclay's acquaintance with the Princess Elizabeth of the Rhine, and the intimation she gave of her purpose, to intercede, so far as lay in her power, for the liberation of the Friends in Scotland, will doubtless be fresh in the recollection of the reader. Very shortly after his release from prison, in the 2nd month, 1677, Robert Barclay travelled into the south, was at London in the following month, and early in the 6th month paid a visit to his friend, the Princess, at Herwerden in Germany. The objects which he had before him by this journey into England, and a tarriance there for the space of two months, may have been various; but on these points there are no documents that supply scarce any information. It is clear, however, with regard to his travels on the Continent, that he had expressly in view, to pay a visit in the character of a minister among those churches, that were then gathered to the same religious acknowledgment with Friends, as well as among others whom he might find seriously disposed to seek the way of salvation. His companions were George Fox, William Penn, George Keith, and Benjamin Furly, with two or three more. At Amsterdam, it appears, they proposed to the General Meeting of Friends then convened there, a method of regularly transacting church discipline, adapted to the state and exigency of that body.

But it does not altogether come within the scope of these Memoirs, to go into Robert Barclay's services in particular, while on this gospel errand, much less those of his fellow-helpers; nor even to give an account of their visit to the Princess Elizabeth;

William Penn, in the Journal of his travels, having drawn a very lively and touching description of their interviews, the reader is referred to his account. The object of this digression from the transactions of Friends in the north of Scotland, has rather been, to explain the absence of Robert Barclay from that scene of action; and to show, by the statement of collateral circumstances,—but especially by the succeeding letter, which he wrote to the Princess soon after his return to England,—that the painful subject of the persecution of his fellow-countrymen, did not cease to lie very near his own heart, and that of his valuable correspondent.

ROBERT BARCLAY TO THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

"Theobalds, near London,
12th of the 7th Month, 1677.

"Dear Friend,

"By thy letter of the last of the month past, I understood that the Friends were with thee, and was refreshed by the account they gave me of thy kind and Christian entertainment of them,—they having overtaken me in Holland. God will not be wanting to reward thy love, as well as to increase the same.

"Finding no ready passage for Scotland, I came over here; and albeit I had no great expectation of success, I resolved once more to try thy cousin, the Duke of York, [afterward James the 2nd.] So I told him, that I understood from Scotland, notwithstanding Lauderdale was there, and had promised, ere he went, to do something, yet our Friends' bonds were rather increased; and that there was now only one thing to be done, which I desired of him,—and that was,—To write effectually to the Duke of Lauderdale, in that style wherein Lauderdale might understand, that he was serious in the business, and did really intend the

thing he did write concerning, should take effect;—which I knew he might do, and I supposed the other might answer;—which, if he would do, I must acknowledge as a great kindness. But if he did write, and not in that manner, so that the other might not suppose him to be serious, I would rather he would excuse himself the trouble; desiring withal, to excuse my plain manner of dealing, as being different from the court way of soliciting: all which he seemed to take in good part, and said, he would so write as I desired, for my father and me, but not for the [persecuted Friends of Aberdeen in] general. So, he hath given me a letter: whether it will prove effectual or not, I cannot determine; but of this thou mayst hear hereafter.

"I am now entered into my journey, and intend to pass by the way of Ragley.

"What thou writest of the counsellor of the Elector, and the other preachers, is very acceptable to me to hear; whose joy it is, to understand that the eyes of any are opened to see the Truth, as it is in this day revealed;—as it should be much more, to hear that any came into that universal obedience, which the life and power thereof lead to: which life and power, as they are felt in the inward part, are more than all the words that can be spoken;—of which, I know *thou* hast at some times not been insensible. And therefore my soul's desire for thee is, that thou mayst more and more come out of all that which cumbers, to feel this virtue of Truth to operate in, and redeem thy soul from all the difficulties that do or may attend thee. This, in the nature of it, it is powerful to do, albeit thy temptations were greater and more numerous than they are; if received by thee in the love of it, and with a

heart fully resigned to obey it in all its requirings; without consulting with flesh and blood, or turning by the plain and simple leadings thereof by wise and fleshly reasonings, which will never admit of the government and rule of the cross of Christ:—as thou well knowest and wilt not refuse to acknowledge, and therefore art the more concerned to watch against it in thy own particular, as I hope in measure thou dost, and my heart's desire is.

"Thou mayst make mention of my dear and tender love to Anna, whose servant, as also the French woman, I forget not. To Anna I thought to have written apart; but must now leave it until another opportunity. If thou seest meet to salute that counsellor of the Elector in my name, thou mayst do it.

"I shall add no more at present, but that I am thy real and unfeigned friend,

"Robert Barclay."

One or two circumstances occurring in the above letter, are briefly adverted to in the Notes, to which the reader is referred. See Appendix, *Y*. It is pleasing to derive fresh evidence from its contents, that the influence which Robert Barclay, as well as his father, possessed with some who at that time moved in the highest circles, was by no means turned to the gratification of pride, avarice, or ambition; but rather applied for the purpose of advancing the interests of sober piety, and that, with a sincere regard for the real welfare of all with whom he had to do.

We are not informed, what effect was produced by the letter obtained from the Duke of York in favour of the Barclays, to which allusion is made in the foregoing. There is, however, no reason to doubt, it was delivered to the Duke of Lauderdale, on Robert Bar-

clay's arrival in Scotland. The Memoirs of the family, indeed, state in general terms, that the release of both the father and son took place "*by an order from court, with a reprimand for meddling with either of them;*" and that *the* "*son afterward procured the liberation of his other friends who were detained after them.*" It is presumed, this must be understood of the above-mentioned imprisonment of David Barclay and others in the course of this year: but it does not expressly appear, *how soon* Robert's lot was cast among the prisoners, after his return home, nor *when* his release, with that of his father, was effected.

It may here be briefly named, that about two years subsequently, he journeyed a third time on the Continent. His engagements in this instance are but little known, beyond the circumstance of his having proceeded *by way of London to Holland,* "upon account of visiting and acting for his friends;" also that at Rotterdam, he again addressed the Princess by letter, "excusing himself for not seeing her at that time;" "*a copy of which,*" continues his grandson in the Memoirs, "*I have.*"

In the ancient record which has furnished a chief groundwork for the present historical account of this persecution of a Christian people, there occurs, about this period, a considerable chasm; so that the touching circumstances of their afflictive allotment, can no longer be pourtrayed, as hitherto, in detail. This deficiency in the narrative, it is of course in vain to expect, at this distance of time, should be in any wise supplied from other sources. We are only informed, in general terms, of the continuance of the scene, which has been largely opened before us in former pages;

the like treatment being dealt out to the sufferers, and by them received in a similar spirit, *during the protracted space of about* TWO YEARS AND A HALF; that is, from the date of their last-mentioned commitment in the 4th month, 1677.

But, perhaps, enough has been said in proof of that assertion, the truth of which cannot be too strongly fastened on the mind of the believer, and which was well expressed by Calvin in these few words,—"God never in any thing hath failed those, who have been led and guided by his Spirit." Enough, also, has been already brought forward, in illustration of the cruel and vindictive character of an earthly or "carnal mind," proving this to be at once "enmity against God" and all goodness; and showing, as the Scripture imports, that he who is *born after the flesh* will ever be disposed to *persecute* him that is *born after the Spirit*. Yet might it have proved interesting, to have known more minutely the history of this interval; a period, which was probably marked, in the remembrance of the sufferers, as strongly as all others, both by the bitterness of the cup permitted to be meted out to them, and by the heavenly drops that were in mercy mingled with it. And truly, how inadequately are developed, in many parts of the foregoing memorials, those glowing beauties of holiness, that "peace of God which passeth understanding," and that "lively hope" which is as "an anchor to the soul,"—the portion of all such as "receive" and "obey" "the Truth as it is in Jesus," loving "his appearing." How often were these meek and patient followers of the Lamb, as we may truly believe, "strengthened with might in the inner man," by "the effectual working" of that power in which they believed, for which they waited, and towards which

they fervently aspired! When deprived of their domestic comforts, day after day and month after month, as well of the endearments of home, as of all those minor accommodations, for which flesh and blood plead, and unto which poor human nature is so apt to cling; how were they from season to season raised up, and carried aloft in the spirit of their minds, above "the things which are seen" and "perish with the using!" how were they made to "sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus," and enabled to return unto the Lord all the thanks and all the glory, for the exceeding riches of his grace,—the aboundings of his loving-kindness! Nor are we short of being amply borne out in such conclusions; as will appear by reference to a small portion of the rough outline traced by themselves, where, in a summary and general way, they wind up the ancient memoir of their troubles to its close.

Extract.—"And it is never to be forgotten, but worthy everlastingly to be recorded, how wonderfully and gloriously 'the Lord from heaven' countenanced and owned our sufferings, by the signal pouring forth of his Holy Spirit and power among us, beyond whatever we had formerly known, for our encouragement in our trials, within a month or thereby after our imprisonment; that, not only was our prison turned to a house of prayer and praises, but so mightily did the Lord's power break in upon and amongst us, and the glorious, heavenly sound thereof go forth, that it amazed our very enemies."

Among the foremost champions in this prolonged contest for the excellent, pure liberty of the gospel of truth and righteousness, was Patrick Livingston. He was born near Montrose, as has been before stated; but marrying in England, about two months after,

he came into his native country to visit his friends; where, as we have seen, he soon partook of their ordinary portion—that of incarceration. To the great disadvantage of his temporal concerns, and grievous trial of the faith of his partner in life, the term of his detention in prison, from first to last, proved to be THREE YEARS; during all which time, he was never called to appear before any judge or court, that he might have his crime laid to his charge or proved against him; although, at the desire of some who commiserated his hard condition, he was several times allowed his freedom, for very short intervals of a day or two only, speedily becoming entrapped again in the same snare. For, being of an upright and noble spirit, and having come into that country with an innocent, nay, most commendable intention, he could not see it right for him, when dismissed from prison, to withdraw himself from the scene of action, as one who had been guilty of evil:—and, moreover, he felt bound by the ties of brotherly sympathy and Christian love, to stand by his companions in their afflictions. No sooner, therefore, was he at any time set at liberty, than he returned to his post, as a good soldier of the Prince of peace, not daring to turn his back, or shrink from exposing himself in the line of that most essential duty, of publicly drawing near "in spirit and in truth," to Him "who is a spirit."

In this way, by example as well as exhortation, did Patrick Livingston, whether in bonds or out of bonds, greatly uphold and strengthen the hands of the little flock, towards some of whom in an especial manner, he stood in the relation of "a faithful minister in the Lord," having been the means of gathering their souls to the inward appearance and "patient waiting for Christ." See page 239 of this volume. So

sensible of this, were those who vehemently sought to lay waste this testimony, and so troubled at his unwearied and unyielding zeal, that they would several times *let him go forth* from among his companions in custody, or *miss* some meeting he was known to be at; and, being conscious how they had wronged him, would have been glad of some means of being disencumbered of him, could they have effected this with credit to themselves. He would often acknowledge to his friends, that he still felt his mind fettered, so that he could not be satisfied to leave them; but, after attending the Monthly Meeting in the 9th month, 1679, he appeared to have a prospect of the cessation of persecution, and signified that he was wholly clear, both in the sight of his Maker and with respect to all men, to return to his home in England. It was remarkable, that, after this period, Friends were left to enjoy without interruption their religious meetings; nor were they afterward deprived of their personal liberty, for endeavouring to fulfil the apostolic injunction—"I will that men pray *everywhere*, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting." 1 Tim. ii. 8.

During the close imprisonment of many of this people in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, three out of their number, namely, Patrick Livingston, just noticed, with George Gray and Andrew Jaffray, were the most frequently engaged, in the aboundings of Christian love, to preach to the people out of their prison-windows, especially on market-days, exhorting them to fear the Lord, and to obey the gospel of his grace. This practice was highly displeasing to the magistrates. They therefore sought to prevent it, by causing these three individuals to be separated from the rest of their companions, and violently thrust up into

a close vaulted cell, situated on the top of the gaol, and called the *Iron-house*, where the worst of felons and murderers were usually confined. They had neither light nor air, except through a long hole in the thick wall, which had a double grating of iron on the outside, and another within. Here they were kept night and day, in the heat of the summer of 1678; when the filthiness of the place, and the corruption of the air so closely pent up, produced "a multitude of worms, called *white maggots, and other vermin*, which swarmed about, even upon their beds and victuals," and manifestly tended to the extreme danger of their health and lives. Yet, through the Divine goodness, while in this melancholy situation, and "thus as it were buried alive," they were preserved in cheerfulness; and "their very natural voices strengthened, and raised up as trumpets, mightily to sound forth God's glorious truth and power, through the said hole in the wall;—and though four or five stories high, and double grated as aforesaid, so that their faces could not *win* near to see into the street below, yet were they distinctly heard all over the street by the people," who the more frequently got together. After *seven weeks*' continuance under the pressure of these aggravated circumstances of cruelty, the persecutors, not finding their end answered, but rather that their endeavours to prevent the prisoners from preaching, had increased the desire of the people to hear them, at length allowed Patrick Livingston and George Gray to rejoin the rest of their friends, who were in the prison below: Andrew Jaffray, at the urgent complaint of some of his relations who were not Friends, having been admitted to this state of comparative liberty somewhat sooner.

The last religious meeting of the Society in Aber-

deen, from which any of their number were conveyed to prison, appears to have been held on the 4th of the 9th month, then called November, 1679, when George Keith, Patrick Livingston, Thomas Mercer, Robert Gordon, Robert Winchester, Robert Burnett, Robert Barclay, Ochiltrie Ferindaile, John Milne, John Mercer, Andrew Jaffray, George Gray, William Alexander, Robert Sandilands, John Forbes, Daniel Hamilton, and John Skene were apprehended and taken into custody; but, in about three hours after, they were all set at liberty. From which period, their solemn assemblies were held without molestation from the magistrates; on whose minds, the constancy and patience of the sufferers, could scarcely fail of producing some favourable effect. This, however, is but conjecture. The most satisfactory mode of accounting for the cessation of these unchristian proceedings against this body, would appear to be, the persevering efforts of one of their number, Robert Barclay, who possessed great interest with the Duke of York, afterward James the 2nd. For, in an Address to the King, soon after his accession to the throne, drawn up and presented by this Friend on behalf of the Society in Scotland,—*he attributes the opening of their prison doors in the year* 1679, *to the influence of King James (when Duke of York) with the government of that country.*

It was a settled observation among this people, as they strongly testify, that during their deepest sufferings at Aberdeen, they not only found the favour of God attending, but also his hand of Providence preserving them; so that while their spirits were continued cheerful, praising the Lord in the midst of the most grievous of their afflictions, even their bodies were kept in health and strength, beyond human ex-

pectation, under all that very unwholesome confinement. And further, through the same overruling power, even the malice of those who rose up against them, was made subservient to the spreading of that doctrine, which it had been the design of such to crush. For, during this persecution, their appointed meetings in that city, were not only held at the usual times, but greatly increased in the number of attendants. The *women*, whose husbands were so frequently shut up in prison, failed not, *with their children*, to draw together for the worship of the Almighty, at the stated seasons and in the accustomed places; so that the unflinching constancy of these, with the accession of other persons out of the country, and the returning of the prisoners as soon and as often as any were released, disappointed thus far the intentions of the magistrates, *who were unable to prevent the holding of any one of the public assemblies of the people called Quakers, during the whole course of the persecution.*

While this conscientious class of *protesting* Christians, felt themselves in duty bound passively to submit to what might be permitted to come upon them at the will of ungodly men; and while they richly partook of that all-sufficient help, which never fails the faithful and upright-hearted; they yet looked forward with quiet expectation, with firm and full assurance, to the time, when they should be ridden out of the hand of the wicked; when their Lord and Master, who will not allow any to be tried beyond what he knows is best, should be pleased to cut short their trials, and in effect to say, "It is enough." There was no people, who had better claim to those words of the Psalmist, Psal. xxxi. "My times are in thy hand:"—for their *all* was surrendered up unto his sovereign disposal. There was no people, whom that language

more fitly became, which was first uttered by King David, in the same Psalm, and afterward by David's LORD, "Into thine hands I commit [or commend] my spirit." In the lips of such, the succeeding prayer, ver. 15, was altogether appropriate, and, we may believe, accepted, "Deliver me from the hand of mine enemies, and from them that persecute me." They had cause to trust, that "the cry of the humble" would not be forgotten; but that, in due season, "for the oppression of the poor," the Lord would most assuredly "arise." They had read, that He "preserveth the faithful, and plentifully rewardeth the proud doer," that he "judgeth the righteous," and "is angry with the wicked every day." "If he turn not," continues the same inspired writer, "He will whet his sword; he hath bent his bow, and made it ready. He hath also prepared for him the instruments of death; He ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors." Entertaining these Scriptural views, it was rather with mingled feelings of awful admiration than of mere surprise, that they beheld "the reward of the wicked." They could not but notice the remarkable concurrence of several unusual events, which overtook the principal instruments of their wrongs, whereby the cause of the persecutors was weakened; and, in these things, they saw and acknowledged so many tokens of Divine displeasure, manifested against the workers of iniquity; according to that declaration, "God is known by the judgment which he executeth;" and again, "God shall wound the head of his enemies, and the hairy scalp of such an one as goeth on still in his trespasses."

But to whom do these remarks apply? Most certainly, in a primary and prominent sense, though not by any means exclusively, to *him* whose character the

voice of history has indelibly stamped, as "the most unprincipled man of his day,"—the Archbishop Sharpe,—to him, who added *this* to the black catalogue of those things, which, it cannot be doubted, were registered against him by the just Judge of all the earth,—that he fought against God and those who meekly feared him, against those who loved their very enemies, and purely sought the good of all. See Appendix, *Z*. The Friends of Aberdeen testify of him, that he "was the very chief and principal instrument of all our sufferings, by his power in the Council: and the same document states, that he was one of those who procured *that Commission* to be appointed, by whom the Friends were so unjustly sentenced; and that he himself spoke very pressingly to some of the members of it, *to endeavour to root out the Quakers.* Indeed, it was signified to some of the Friends, as they say, "by those who well knew it, *that it was only he* who stopped any favourable answer from being given by the Council to our bills; and that if he would *lie by*, they would undoubtedly be well answered." It will not be forgotten, that to him were addressed, upwards of two years before, those faithful, weighty words of warning, contained in a letter of Robert Barclay, before recorded, but worthy of being here repeated.—"So, the God of truth, whom we serve with our spirits in the gospel of his Son, and to whom vengeance belongs, (so we leave it,) would certainly, in his own time and way, avenge our quarrel, [in case thou should prove inexorable towards us;] whose dreadful judgments should be more terrible unto thee, and much more justly to be feared, than the *violent assaults* or *secret assassinations* of thy *other antagonists.* That thou mayst prevent *both the one and the other*, by a Christian moderation suitable to the office

thou layest claim to, is the desire of thy soul's well-wisher, R. Barclay."

"How remarkable," exclaim the sufferers, in their notice of the fact, which soon after transpired, "was the just judgment as from the Lord, though the hand of man was cruel and barbarous therein,—one cruel spirit punishing another,—in what befell" the Archbishop; "although," continue they, "we neither wished him evil, nor approved but abhorred" the act and the spirit of it.—It is presumed, that the reader will scarcely need to be informed, that, in the 3rd month, 1679, the Archbishop Sharpe was way-laid by some of the Presbyterians, as he passed in his coach and six, and inhumanly assassinated, his murderers calling him *an apostate, a betrayer, and a persecutor.*

The three public preachers of Aberdeen, Meldrum, Menzies, and Mitchell, who had so furiously and maliciously set themselves against Friends, as well as the spiritual testimony upheld by these, were about the same time removed from their office, one by death, the others by law,—being deprived of their power, and silenced from preaching. With regard to Meldrum, who had been the most active in this work of persecution, even beyond any of his class in Scotland, and had threatened that he would, if practicable, absolutely put a stop to the meetings of the "Quakers" in Aberdeen;—it was singular enough, that this man should not only have had his own mouth actually stopped by man, but that impediment so effectually continued upon him,—as the sufferers relate,—even after the King had given such ample toleration to all Nonconformists, and notwithstanding his own desires, and the endeavours of that city that he might be reinstated in his charge.—Surely, in such an instance,

"The lying lips" were "put to silence, which speak grievous things proudly and contemptuously against the righteous." Psal. xxxi. 18.

A further evidence of the Lord's tender care over his little ones in this district, appeared in the case of the Laird of Haddo; who, being made Chancellor, and "lending an ear to the wicked lies that were fabricated to the prejudice of the Society, set himself against that *stumbling-stone and rock of offence laid in Zion*, the lowly appearance of JESUS CHRIST in the heart." Being violent in the King's Council, on one occasion, together with the Bishop of Aberdeen, *to have the meeting-house that Friends had built at Kinmuck pulled down, and their school destroyed;* he found the more moderate of his colleagues were averse to the measure. For they said, It was against law to pull down a dwelling fire-house, as it was termed; and if one Quaker meeting-house was pulled down, it behoved them to pull down every Quaker dwelling-house also; *for as long as they had one, they would meet in it.* Upon this, it is credibly stated, on certain information, that he said, *He would not trouble more, but do it with his own authority.* "After this," proceeds the manuscript, "within a very short time, our God, who says, *They that dishonour me shall be lightly esteemed*, stirred up a faction against him, who got him, not without disgrace, to be displaced from his office, having been in it scarcely two years."

Surely, after such repeated cases of a similar description and tendency, these poor people had some sufficient ground administered, for taking up that beautiful song of David, Psal. cxxiv.—"If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, now may Israel say;—if it had not been the Lord who was on our

side, when men rose up against us; then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us: then the waters had overwhelmed us,—the stream had gone over our soul: then the proud waters had gone over our soul. Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth! Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers: the snare is broken, and we are escaped. Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth!"

CHAPTER XIV.

1681: THE HARMONY OF FRIENDS IN SOME DANGER—VISIT OF JOHN BURNYEAT—1686: DAVID BARCLAY'S DEATH—1689: ACCOUNT OF GEORGE GRAY—HIS LETTER TO HIS FRIENDS.

In the course of the preceding pages, a connected historical detail has been brought together, principally exhibiting the conduct of this portion of the flock of Christ, under that system of opposition and oppression, with which they were for many years assailed. Other biographical particulars of the Friends in Scotland, in a somewhat more detached shape, are now to follow: they chiefly embrace the little which has been preserved, relative to the pious career and closing hours of several of these, who were counted worthy to bear the burden and heat of that day.

No sooner had persecution of this description in great measure ceased, than we find the enemy of all good devised a snare for their hurt, more likely to prove successful against them than any open hostility. By infusing into certain individuals of this little band, who had hitherto been of one heart and of one mind, evil surmisings and malicious jealousies against the body of Friends, but especially against those who occupied conspicuous stations among them;—in this way did he seek to break in upon and lay waste "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Happily, and, as they testify, through the remarkable care as well as tender regard of the great Shepherd, who sleepeth not by day, nor slumbereth by night,

this undermining evil was timely discovered and exposed; those few who joined in with it, and were the chief occasion of this division, being formally excluded from fellowship among them. Alexander Harper and Isabella Keillo,—names that appear in the early part of the Memoirs,—were of this number. It appears, that one ground of their dissatisfaction and calumnious reproaches against the Friends, is to be traced to their reception of the baneful principles of Rogers and Bugg, two noted apostates from the faith and practice of the Society in England.—It is recorded, that very shortly previous to this affair breaking out, George Rook, a friend from Cumberland, wholly uninformed as to their situation, visited Aberdeen, and had to declare in the meeting, that his mind was under suffering, while sitting among them, "from an undermining, murmuring, wicked spirit, that was working against the faithful, and the unity of the body, which God would in due time discover and judge out from among his children."

In the year 1681, John Burnyeat, together with Peter Fearon, paid their Scottish fellow-professors a visit, in the line of gospel love and labour. The former Friend, it may be remembered, had discharged among them this important office of a Christian minister, almost as early as there were any in Scotland, stigmatized by their neighbours under the scornful appellation of "Quaker." Three years only elapsed, ere we find this individual engaged a third time in the same weighty duty. For, by a letter of his, dated Leith, the 6th of the 8th month, 1684, it is clear, that he had taken journey *north* from that place, with two others, and had spent about three weeks in holding meetings almost every day, "having," as he describes it, "a blessed open service through the Lord's

power amongst Friends; for there is an open, tender-hearted people, and they were glad of my coming; for there had not been an English Friend among them of a long time." It appears, he was particularly concerned, that decent order and care, becoming a Christian church, should prevail and be maintained in all its branches.

It will not be forgotten, that among those champions, who fearlessly withstood the encroachments of intolerance, was David Barclay of Ury; respecting whom, indeed, it is to be regretted, considering his station in life and the noble character he bore with all classes, that so few and inadequate notices have been preserved. After his son had been the means of procuring his liberation from prison, where the last mention of him is made, he was not much molested; his influence with those in power, or rather their respect for him, very much serving to ward off the malice of inferior magistrates. On one occasion, in his declining years, we find, he accompanied his old acquaintance, John Swintoune, to London, chiefly with the view of "visiting his friends:" and sometimes we trace him at Edinburgh on the like account. Again, in the spring of 1683, he was in London, his friend Andrew Jaffray being with him; also his son Robert and wife with their eldest boy, whom they were conveying to George Keith's boarding-school at Theobalds in Hertfordshire. But, for the most part, David Barclay, passed the remainder of his days on his own estate of Ury; enjoying, as it is stated, with much satisfaction, the tranquillity of a country life, after many years of hardship and of trial; possessing also, in a high degree, the esteem of all who knew him;—but, above all, that inestimable treasure, "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding," and

which is alone able to keep the soul "through Jesus Christ."

A few fleeting years thus spent in preparing to meet his Judge and Saviour, brought him to the 76th year of his age: soon after this, he took a fever, which, in about a fortnight, was the means of removing him from this earthly scene. Upon the 12th of the month called October, 1686, his body was borne to a new burial-place, selected as such by himself, situated on a rising eminence near a mile to the north-west of his house; he having, when in perfect health, and some time before his death, ordered the manner of his interment by a writing under his hand. But notwithstanding his particular request, that none might be expressly invited on that occasion, except those of the Society and his own tenants; yet, the hour being known, a numerous train attended, especially of the higher rank, who, from the regard they bore to him while living, came to pay this last office of respect to his memory. The account of his religious departure, drawn up by his son, can scarcely be read without effect,—it is so touching, so weighty, yet so simple; discovering that dignified composure and humble trust, which drew from survivors the declaration of their belief, that he was "kept in the patience and faith of Jesus."

During the time of his last sickness, David Barclay was preserved in a quiet, contented mind, freely resigned to the will of God; and gave several living testimonies to the Truth, and to the love of God, shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost. Although there was hardly to be found one in a thousand like him for natural vigour at his age, and although his fever was at times very strong; yet he never was "insensible," nor did any wrong ex-

pression or action proceed from him, nor yet the least symptom of discontent or fretfulness. He had previously been troubled with a very painful disorder, and after the commencement of his illness, had much suffering from that cause; and, about two days before his death, while those around were helping him up, in a sense of his weakness and in an agony, he said, "I am going now"—then instantly checking himself, he added, "But I shall go to the Lord, and be gathered to many of my brethren, who are gone before me,—and to my dear son."—This was his youngest son, David, who died at sea about a year before, on his voyage to East Jersey. He was an amiable youth, of exemplary life and conversation, and was an acceptable preacher among Friends.

On the 11th of the 8th month, (continues Robert Barclay,) about two or three o'clock in the morning, he growing weaker, I drew nigh to him. He said, "Is this my son?" I said, Yea; and spake a few words, signifying my travail, that He who loved him, might be near him to the end. He answered, "The Lord *is* nigh," repeating it, "You are my witnesses in the presence of God, that the Lord is nigh." A little after, he said, "The perfect discovery of 'the Day-spring from on high'—how great a blessing it hath been to me and to my family!" My wife desiring to know, if he would have something to wet his mouth, he said, It needed not. She said, It would refresh him: he laid his hand upon his breast, saying, He had *that inwardly* which refreshed him. After a little while, he added at several times these words, "*The Truth is over all!*"

He took my eldest son to him, and blessed him, saying, He prayed God, he might never depart from the Truth. My eldest daughter Patience coming near,

he said, "Is this Patience? Let *patience* have its perfect work in thee!" And after kissing the others, he laid his hands upon them, and blessed them. He called for my father-in-law, and two of his daughters that were present, and spake some weighty words very kindly. And perceiving one of them, who was not a Friend, weeping much, he desired for her, that she might come to the Truth; and bade her not weep for him, but for herself.

A sober man, an apothecary, that waited upon him in his weakness, coming near, he took him by the hand, saying, "Thou wilt bear me witness, that in all this exercise, I have not been curious to tamper nor to pamper the flesh." He answered, "Sir, I can bear witness, that you have always minded the better and more substantial part; and rejoice to see the blessed end the Lord is bringing you to." He replied, "Bear a faithful and true witness:—yet, it is *the life of righteousness*, it is the life of righteousness, that we bear testimony to, and not to an empty profession." Then he called several times, "*Come, Lord Jesus, come, come!*" And again, "My hope is in the Lord."—Now and then he slept, perhaps during the space of ten hours. On observing a countryman come into the room, he thought it had been one of his tenants, *a carpenter;* I telling him, it was not *he*, but another, he said to me, "See thou charge him, to make no manner of superfluity upon my coffin."

About three in the afternoon, there came several Friends from Aberdeen to see him. He took them by the hand, and said several times, They were come in a seasonable time. After some words were spoken, and Patrick Livingston had prayed, which ended in praises, he held up his hands, and said, "*Amen!*

Amen, for ever!" And afterward, when they stood looking at him, he said, "How precious is *the love of God* among his children, and *their* love one to another. Thereby shall all men know that ye are Christ's disciples, if you love one another. How precious a thing it is, to see brethren dwell together in love! My love is with you—I leave it among you."

About eight at night, several Friends standing around the bed, he, perceiving some of them weep, said, "Dear Friends! all mind the *inward man*—heed not the *outward*:—there is One that doth regard—the Lord of hosts is his name!" After he heard the clock strike three in the morning, he said, "Now the time comes!" A little after, he was heard to say, "Praises, praises, praises to the Lord!—Let now thy servant depart in peace.—Unto thy hands, O Father! I commit my soul, spirit, and body.—Thy will, O Lord! be done in earth, as it is in heaven."—These sentences he spoke by short intervals, one after another; and at a little after five in the morning, the 12th day of the 8th month, *fell asleep like a lamb, in remarkable quietness and calmness.*

Many were the pious lessons conveyed by the dying, which an all-wise Providence saw meet, in the course of a few years, to lay before the view of a rising generation in Scotland, the successors of these faithful witnesses of *Emmanuel, God with us!* Three years only elapsed, and they had to resign another of their number, George Gray; who, on the 8th of the 12th month, 1689-90, was called away to give account of his stewardship.

He is represented by his friends, to have been a worthy, precious, and useful labourer in the Lord's

vineyard thereaway, the savour and power as well as fruits of whose comfortable ministry, remained in the hearts of many. "His memorial," say they, "is sweet and flourisheth, and shall live to generations to come, as a faithful servant of the Lord, and steward of his manifold gifts and graces in his church." By trade he was a weaver, and worked very hard with his hands, up to nearly the close of his life, in all intervals of disengagement from his *higher calling;* not only that he might in nowise make the gospel chargeable, but in order to set a good example of honest industry. His care and zeal was great, in the first place, to have his own conversation well ordered, and then, that the least appearance of evil might be abstained from throughout the whole circle of his friends; that thus, all things truly lovely, comely, of good report, and for the honour of the blessed cause, might be thoroughly followed, by himself as a pattern to the flock, and by his fellow-professors. The cheerful patience and steadfastness, with which he underwent that portion of suffering that befell him for the Truth, was very conspicuous, especially during the long imprisonment which he and his Friends sustained at Aberdeen.

He was one much exercised and engaged on all public occasions, as at fairs and markets; especially would he, when under close confinement, often address the people from his prison-windows—indeed, it was *there*, that he was first put forth in that service. He not only endured much in his person, counting it joy to suffer shame for the Lord Jesus, that *His power* might rest upon him; but was permitted to undergo the spoiling of "a great part of the mean outward substance" which he possessed. He loved to spend and be spent in the service of his good Master; so

great was his zeal in this respect, that it seemed *to consume his natural strength:* thus, he swiftly ran out his blessed race, laying down his earthly tabernacle as early as the 49th year of his age. A little before his departure, being filled with the power of the Lord, he gave weighty exhortation and counsel to all that were present, especially to his children. To some Friends who came to see him, he declared, *He had not kept back the word and counsel of the Lord from them; and now he could say, it was good doctrine to leave nothing to do till a dying bed.*

A letter addressed by George Gray to the Friends of the country meeting of Colliehill, at a time when he was very young in the Truth, and but entering into his public ministry, may serve, not only "for some taste of his spirit;" but as depicting also in certain respects the state of that meeting, for whose advancement in grace, and in saving knowledge, we may remember, George Gray was especially interested. See page 306. It is dated from the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, the 8th of the 3rd month, 1676.

"My dear Friends in the Truth!

"The salutation of love and life be multiplied in and among you, from the Father of love and life!

"In the sense of the pure love of God, which flows in my heart towards you, do I warn and exhort you, *to walk in the cross* of our Lord Jesus Christ, which crucifieth us to the world and the world to us. And watch in patience, and meekness, and calmness of spirit against every thing that would draw out the mind, in any measure, from *the true meeting-place*, either in or out of meeting. For truly, my Friends, he or she that doth not watch diligently *out of meeting*, but let their minds go a gadding to the ends of

the earth, and take no heed to have them gathered in *before* they come to meeting—truly, it is no wonder to see such disappointed. And therefore, my dear Friends, be careful, every one in particular, to have your minds stayed upon the Lord, and the Lord will not be wanting to you; for great is his condescending to us in this day, and wonderful is his work to those that truly watch and wait upon him!

"Therefore, my dear Friends, every one know your place, and let not any go out, nor look out beyond your measures; and let none speak, nor sing, nor sigh, nor groan, but in a *true* sense of their conditions; and let none make haste *to speak any thing before the Lord*, which they know not to be from the true power; but all wait for the power and life, and the love of God. For, truly, where the love of God is not placed in the heart, the true power will not attend their performances, neither will God regard their speech or prayer. Therefore, dear Friends, dwell in love, and walk in love towards all men and women; and feel the love of God in your hearts flowing forth to all, whether they love you or hate you. For where hatred is brought forth against any person, upon whatsoever account it be, although you may think the cause just, yet it will separate you from the love of God; for envy and hatred are of the devil, and *he* is there where *this* is; and Christ Jesus will not dwell with *him* in unity. And therefore, my dear brethren and sisters, love one another in that love wherewith *Christ* hath loved you, and likewise your enemies; for love gathereth to God, but envy scattereth. Therefore, I warn you, in the fear and dread of the everlasting God, that ye be not *hinderers of the work of the Lord;* for dreadful will their portion be, that let or hinder it in this day, or *bring an evil*

report upon it. So, take warning, my Friends, and every one look to their way, and to the prosperity of Truth. And, my Friends, I thought the zeal of Truth should have had more effect upon *some*, than I see it hath; but I shall forbear, leaving every one to their own Master:—but they that *follow for loaves and fishes*, when they get them not, will fail even in *that* zeal also.

"'My little children, love one another.'

"George Gray."

CHAPTER XV.

1690: RELIGIOUS PROGRESS AND LATTER END OF ROBERT BARCLAY—LETTER OF GEORGE FOX TO HIS WIDOW—HIS CHARACTER.

But the loss which the Friends in this part of the country sustained, by the removal of such men as George Gray and David Barclay, was not all; it was quickly followed, and without doubt *exceeded*, by the death of *one*, whom they and the Society at large were bound in a more than ordinary manner to esteem, as "worthy of double honour." "Surprising," says William Penn, "was the death of dear Robert Barclay, *to me particularly*, from the share I claimed in him, and the esteem I had for him: but that which gave weight to my sorrow, was the loss which thereby comes to the church of God, and especially in Scotland. That *he* lived no longer, who was so well fitted to live for the service and honour of the Truth, and the good of God's people, must render his death more afflicting to all those, who desire to be reckoned among this number."—"*O Friends!*" continues the same writer, "*if precious in the eyes of the Lord be the death of his saints, ought not their labours and death to be precious to the Lord's people?*"

But before touching upon his close, we must take a view,—such a superficial view as the existing documents oblige us to take,—of those transactions which throw light upon the religious progress of this "prince in Israel," 2 Sam. iii. 38, during the last ten years of

his pilgrimage. Hitherto his course has been that of *the Christian advocate*, strenuous and firm, yet tender and discreet, in all his services for the cause in which he engaged; meek and patient also, under those numerous provocations which were poured upon him. But the days of public persecution being now over, as regards the Friends in Scotland, and the principles they uniformly held becoming better understood by the public, we do not find that fresh occasions presented for such laborious exercises as those, in which Robert Barclay had been hitherto involved for the defence and spreading of the gospel. *The same voice*, which had sounded an alarm in the ear of his soul, which had girded him for this description of warfare and put him forth in it, many a time giving him the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ, doubtless conveyed to his submissive spirit a release from the field of controversy. It was *this*, which now led him in a line of duty, less conspicuous indeed, and less accounted of by men, but in its place and season no less acceptable in the sight of God. Not that it was the easeful, inert, instinctive observance of such duty, either in a private, social, or more enlarged scale, that could satisfy the cravings of his enlivened soul;—for if so, the character of Barclay has been strangely misrepresented. We have, on the contrary, good cause to assume, however few the traces of his latter years which have come down to us, that this portion of his life was equally passed under the blessed influence of that Sun of righteousness, which had gilded his earlier path,—that the evidences of his peace and adoption grew brighter and brighter till his final change.

We find him represented, during this period, as being warmly alive to the welfare of his fellow-men,

his family and relations, his friends and his acquaintance; but more especially so, in what concerned the cause of his brethren in religious connexion. He employed himself in many acts of kindness and friendship towards each of these; and was several times from home at Edinburgh or in London, more often on behalf of others than on account of his own affairs; but particularly applied his interest at court, which was considerable, and the frequent access which he had to the person of King James the 2nd, for the benefit of his friends and of others. Being connected, or on terms of intimacy, with some families of the highest rank in Scotland, he had great opportunity of evincing, in his daily intercourse, the practical operation of those religious principles, respecting which both vocally and with his pen he had so largely treated. And there are sufficient proofs, that he possessed the esteem and confidence of that class in no common degree. On one occasion, it appears, he was made use of, in composing a difference between the Duke of Gordon and "Sir Ewen Cameron," who had married his sister, Jean Barclay; and undertook a journey to London chiefly with this view; which object was at length accomplished, as it is said, by the King's interposition. See Appendix, *AA*.

In the Memoirs of the family, it is also stated, that "In 1682, the Earls of Perth and Melfort, with the other proprietors, elected him Governor of East Jersey, North America; and to induce him to accept thereof, they gifted him a large propriety with five thousand acres *more* for him to bestow as he should think fit, the government being confirmed to him during life by King Charles the 2nd's letter;—his commission bears, that 'such is his known fidelity and capacity, that he has the government during life, but

that every Governor after him, shall have it three years only.' He had likewise the power of appointing a deputy governor, with a salary of four hundred pounds per annum."—Whatever worthy purposes he might have had, in accepting this post, it is clear, that patronage rather than riches would be the immediate result; and this, with a very considerable weight of care and responsibility. But it seems, that the settlement of his two younger brothers in that province, became part of the design, although with regard to the youngest, David, this plan, owing to his death while on the voyage, was not permitted to take effect.

The little incident, well known to readers among the Society of Friends, of Robert Barclay's rencounter with highwaymen, on his way back to Scotland from London, in 1683, will not *by them* be expected to be passed over, in these recollections of his life and conduct. His grandson's own account, now before the Author, may at least be fresh to every one.

" Having staid most of the summer [in London] visiting his friends,——as he, with his wife and brother in law [Gilbert Molleson,] and his intimate friend Aaron Sonemans, an eminent merchant in Holland, were travelling homeward in company together, they were upon the 8th of August attacked in Stonegate-hole, in Huntingdonshire, by highwaymen. One of them presented a pistol to my grandfather; he took him by the arm very calmly, asking him *how he came to be so rude*—for he knew his business. The fellow, trembling, dropt the pistol out of his hand upon the ground, in great surprise, and did not so much as demand any thing. But his brother-in-law was riffled, and poor Sonemans was shot through the thigh, [it was thought more by accident than design,] who being with some difficulty brought to Stilton, died in

a few days of the wound. I had the above accounts from my grandmother, who likewise told me, that she observed my grandfather, that morning before they were attacked, *more pensive than usual;* and that he told her, it was his opinion, some unusual trial or exercise was to befall them that day; but when the affair happened, *he enjoyed a remarkable serenity.*"

He was again in London in the year 1685, and also in 1687; the latter time, very much in compliance with the pressing solicitations of Friends, especially of George Fox; an extract from whose original letter, in the possession of the writer of these pages, may best explain their wishes, while it will serve as a standing testimonial of their love, and of the sense which they had of Robert Barclay's usefulness in serving the cause he had espoused.

"Dear Friend, R. B.,

"——— Now the occasion of my writing unto thee at this time is,—that Friends are very sensible of the great service thou hadst concerning the Truth with the King and at the court, and that thou hadst their ears more than any Friend, when here, and freedom and liberty on Friends' and Truth's behalf. And now, dear Robert, we understanding, that the occasion of thy sudden return [homeward was now passed,] I do desire thee, and it is the desire of several other Friends, that now, while the door is open and the way so plain, thou wouldst be pleased to come to London with speed, or as soon as may be,—for there is a great service in it, thou having such free access; and when thou art here, Friends may let thee know their minds further.—And so, dear Robert, there is a great service in thy coming, upon several accounts, more than I shall speak of at this

time;—and so I hope the Lord will incline thy heart to weigh and consider thy service in it. And so, once more, with my love,

"G. F."

"Edmonton, 19th of the 5th month, 1686."

The death of his worthy parent, David Barclay, before recited, and that of a sister soon after, with the various concerns that would, in consequence, devolve upon him as representative of the family, sufficiently account for his apparent slackness in acceding to so urgent a request as the foregoing. When in the metropolis, he drew up and presented to the King the sincere acknowledgments of the Friends in Scotland, on account of his proclamation in favour of liberty of conscience; and there is little doubt, he attended the Yearly Meeting of the Society, held in London in the 3rd month, 1687. But it is not clearly made out, what special benefit resulted to that body, from any exertions of his at this juncture on their behalf. Direct persecution had then, generally speaking, ceased; yet the legal incapacity of this people, in consequence of their refusing to swear; the ruinous processes usually instituted against them for tithes even of small amount; together with the little security which they felt, whilst the penal laws were only suspended, and that, by a power which they knew to be incompetent;—such considerations would naturally induce them to wish, that the degree of ease which they now enjoyed, might rest on a more satisfactory basis. Indeed, it is evident by the address, which went up to the King this year from the Society at large, that they looked for "*such a concurrence from the Parliament, as will,*" they say, "*secure it to our posterity.*" Whatever might have been the principles

of James the 2nd, (as the compiler of the Life of Robert Barclay justly observes,) the latter, probably influenced by the personal kindness he received from the King, seems to have thought him sincere in his professions; while it may be further suggested, whether a fervent Christian desire and charitable hope respecting him, might not have been the origin of that real regard, which Barclay evidently cherished towards the misguided and imprudent monarch.

While in London, our Friend had an interview with the seven bishops, then confined in the Tower. It will be recollected, they had refused to distribute, in their respective dioceses, the King's declaration of indulgence, and had represented to the King the grounds of their objection to the measure. The popular opinion was in favour of the bishops; yet the former severities of some of that order against dissenters, particularly against Friends, occasioned some reflections on them; which, coming to the knowledge of the imprisoned bishops, they declared *that the Quakers had belied them, by reporting that they had been the death of some.* Robert Barclay being informed of this, went to the Tower; and gave the bishops a well substantiated account of some, who had been detained in prison till death, by order of bishops, though they had been apprized of the impending danger by physicians who were not "Quakers." He, however, told them, that since they themselves through change of circumstances were now under oppression, it was by no means the intention of the Friends, to give the King or their adversaries any advantage against them, by publishing such incidents.

On his way home from London in the 6th month, Robert Barclay stopped two days at Chester, where the King then was, upon a progress. There, in the

Tennis Court, he and William Penn had "a most large meeting," as he calls it in his Diary; the King himself being present at one of the religious opportunities, held in the Friends' meeting-house. Passing through Lancashire, Robert Barclay visited Swarthmore, formerly the house of Judge Fell, whose widow was married to George Fox.

Soon after the commencement of the next year, 1688, he took his last journey to London, where he staid the whole summer, "visiting and serving his friends to the utmost of his power." His eldest son Robert, who discovered a heart "devoted to religion from his infancy," was with him, being then but sixteen years of age. The father, judicious and discriminating, as he is described to have been, in his care over his children, did not object to introduce him to the court of King James at Windsor; where he remained some considerable time, being much caressed, it is said, on account of his father's interest, which occasioned numerous dependents.

Though this fact is probably calculated, at first sight, to startle most minds; such feeling may be measurably allayed by considerations like the following. It cannot with reason be said, *that in every supposable case*, this line of conduct in a parent would be *altogether* unwarrantable or inexpedient. Yet, it is freely admitted, the present instance should form *by no means* a warrant or precedent for any to venture upon, unless under circumstances that may *equally* bear the weight of the risk and responsibility. It may safely be concluded, that Robert Barclay had duly reflected on the subject;—that he was *fully* acquainted with the character and propensities of his child,—that he had *thoroughly before his view* the degree of exposure, which, under his own firm and

prudent controul, was likely to be incurred. And further, we are assured, that he himself was *no novice*, with regard either to the allurements of this present evil world, the weakness of the creature, or the wiles of the destroyer. On the other hand, few had more occasion to trust in Divine protection and grace, wherever duty called, or Providence might lead him. It is an interesting appurtenance to the foregoing statement, and gives some force to the remarks which follow it,—that when this youth grew up, had run his course, and had done with time, his friends could in their expressive way testify of him, that, even *throughout this critical time* to which we are precisely referring, "his conversation was clean and void of offence:"—and how is this accounted for?—they add, in the same sentence, that which is the best explanation—"He may be truly said to have *remembered his Creator in the days of his youth.*"

Previous to quitting London, Robert Barclay had an interview with the King, which shall be described in the words of his grandson.—"At this time he took his last leave of the King, for whose apparent misfortunes he was much concerned; having, as my grandmother informed me, several times discoursed with him upon the posture of affairs at that juncture, about settling the differences like to arise; and *sometimes agreeable resolutions were taken*, but *one way or other* prevented from being executed. At their parting, being in a window with the King, where none other was present, who looking out said, *The wind was now fair for the Prince of Orange* coming over; upon which, my grandfather took occasion to say, *It was hard that no expedient could be found out to satisfy the people:* to which the King replied, *That he would do any thing becoming a gentleman, except to part*

with liberty of conscience, which he never would while he lived.

On his return home, Robert Barclay spent the remaining two years of his life in much retirement, chiefly at home, enjoying the esteem and regard of his neighbours, the comforts of domestic society, and doubtless partaking also in good measure, a soul-sustaining evidence of Divine approbation. In the year 1690, he accompanied James Dickenson, a minister from Cumberland, in a religious visit to some parts of the north of Scotland: coming to Ury from a meeting at Aberdeen, he immediately sickened, being seized with a violent fever, which continued upon him about eight or nine days, when it pleased the Lord to take him out of this world, to a kingdom and glory that is eternal.

James Dickenson was with him at the time of his illness. It was a solemn season: and as he sat by him, the Lord's power and presence bowed their hearts together, and Robert Barclay was sweetly melted in a sense of God's love. Though much oppressed by the disorder, an entirely resigned, peaceful, and Christian frame of mind shone through all. With tears, he expressed the love he bore towards "all faithful brethren in England, who keep their integrity to the Truth," and added, "Remember my love to Friends in Cumberland, at Swarthmore, and *to dear George* [meaning George Fox,] and to all the faithful every where;" concluding with these comfortable words—"God is good still: and though I am under a great weight of sickness and weakness as to my body, yet *my peace flows.* And this I know,—that whatever exercises may be permitted to come upon me, they shall tend to God's glory and my salvation: and in that I rest."—He died on the 3rd of the 8th

month, then called October, 1690, in the 42d year of his age; the remains being attended to the grave in the family burial-place at Ury, by many Friends and others of the neighbourhood.

Among the many letters of condolence, which were addressed to the widow, by different classes of their intimate acquaintance, are two,—the first from the Countess of Errol, said to have been "one of the most religious as well as accomplished ladies of her time;" and the other from Robert Barclay's very especial Friend, George Fox, with whom he maintained a frequent correspondence. The former may be allowed a place in the Notes to this volume, as an expressive proof of the estimation in which he was held by one of that rank; See Appendix, *BB;* but the latter is too extraordinary an effusion of the *ancient, evangelical* spirit, to be withheld from a prominent place in these pages. It proved the *last* letter, except one, which that worthy ever wrote.

George Fox to Christian Barclay.

"28th of 10th month, 1690.

"Dear Friend!

"With my love to thee and thy children, and all the rest of Friends in the holy Seed, Christ Jesus, that reigns over all; in whom ye have all life, and salvation, and rest, and peace with God!

"Now, dear Friend, though the Lord hath taken thy dear husband from thee, his wife, and his children, the Lord will be a Husband to thee, and a Father to thy children. Therefore, cast thy care upon the Lord, and trust in Him: let Him be thy confidence, and let thy eye be unto Him at all times; who is a great Ruler and Orderer of all, both in heaven and earth, and hath the breath and souls of all in his

eternal, infinite hand! And all the creation is upheld by his Word and power, by which they were made;—so that a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his will and pleasure;—and his sons and servants in his image, are in greater value in his eye than many sparrows. Therefore, thou and thy family may *rejoice*, that thou hadst *such an offering to offer up unto the Lord*, as thy dear Husband; who, I know, is well in the Lord, in whom he died, and is at rest from his labours, and his works follow him.

"And now, my dear Friend, do thy diligence in thy family, in bringing up thy children in the fear of the Lord, and his new covenant of life; that thou mayst present them to God *as his children*, and all thy servants and tenants, in the wisdom of God. *Thou must answer the Truth in them all*, in truth, holiness, righteousness, and justice, and walking humbly before God. *Thou wilt always feel his presence to assist, and enable thee to perform whatsoever he requires of thee;* so that whatever thou dost do, it may be to the honour and glory of God. And *do not look at the outward presence of thy husband;* but look at the Lord, and serve Him *with a joyful heart*, mind, soul, and spirit all the days thou livest upon the earth.

"From him, who had a great love and respect for thy dear husband, for his work and service in the Lord, who is content in the will of God, and all things that he doeth:—*and so must* THOU *be.* And so, the Lord God Almighty, settle and establish thee and thine upon the heavenly Rock and Foundation; that, as thy children grow in years, they may grow in grace, and so in favour with the Lord. Amen!

"GEORGE FOX."

"Postscript. I know thy husband hath left a good savour behind him, so I desire *thou mayst do the same.*"

The following faithful delineation of the character of "this worthy young man of God," as William Penn styles him, may be fresh to many readers; but is worthy the *repeated* attentive perusal of those, who claim connexion with the Society of Friends, especially among the younger classes. To adopt the language and motives of the same writer, William Penn, on the like occasion,—"For *their* example and encouragement," is this account given, "who have or hereafter may receive the eternal Truth, as well as *for a testimony to the power and goodness of God in raising him up to his church.*" It is prepared from documents, put forth by those cotemporaries of Robert Barclay who knew him well, and appears in the pages of *A short Account of his Life and Writings.*

"He was distinguished by strong mental powers, particularly by great penetration, and a sound and accurate judgment. His talents were much improved by a regular and classical education. It does not, however, appear, that his superior qualifications produced that elation of mind, which is too often their attendant: he was meek, humble, and ready to allow others the merit they possessed. All his passions were under the most excellent government. Two of his intimate friends, in their character of him, declare, that they never knew him to be angry. He had the happiness of early perceiving the infinite superiority of religion, to every other attainment; and Divine grace enabled him to dedicate his life, and all that he possessed, to promote the cause of piety and virtue. For the welfare of his friends, he was sincerely and warmly concerned; and he travelled, and wrote much, as well as suffered cheerfully, in support of the society and the principles, to

which he had conscientiously attached himself. But this was not a blind and bigoted attachment. His zeal was tempered with charity; and he loved and respected goodness, wherever he found it. His uncorrupted integrity and liberality of sentiment, his great abilities, and the suavity of his disposition, gave him much interest with persons of rank and influence; and he employed it in a manner that marked the benevolence of his heart. He loved peace; and was often instrumental to settling disputes, and in producing reconciliation between contending parties.

"In the support and pursuit of what he believed to be right, he possessed great firmness of mind; which was early evinced in the pious and dutiful sentiment he expressed to his uncle, who tempted him with great offers to remain in France, against the desire of his father: "He is my father," said he, "and must be obeyed." All the virtues harmonize, and are connected with one another: this firm and resolute spirit in the prosecution of duty, was united with great sympathy and compassion towards persons in affliction and distress. They were consoled by his tenderness, assisted by his advice, and as occasion required, were relieved by his bounty. His spiritual discernment and religious experience, directed by that Divine influence which he valued above all things, eminently qualified him to instruct the ignorant, to reprove the irreligious, to strengthen the feeble-minded, and to animate the advanced Christian to still greater degrees of virtue and holiness.

"In private life, he was equally amiable. His conversation was cheerful, guarded, and instructive. He was a dutiful son, an affectionate and faithful hus-

band, a tender and careful father, a kind and considerate master.—Without exaggeration, it may be said, that piety and virtue were recommended by his example; and that, though the period of his life was short, he had, by the aid of Divine grace, most wisely and happily improved it. He lived long enough to manifest, in an eminent degree, the temper and conduct of a Christian, and the virtues and qualifications of a true minister of the gospel."

CHAPTER XVI.

1694: NARRATIVE OF PETER GARDINER'S VISIT TO FRIENDS IN SCOTLAND, WITH HIS REMOVAL BY DEATH.

In the year 1694-5, the Friends in Scotland were visited in the love of the gospel by Peter Gardiner, a messenger of very rare and peculiar stamp, one who had evidently been given in a large measure to drink into the pure streams of apostolic times.

Some few and extraordinary passages, relative to his journey so far north as Yorkshire, have already appeared in print in the pages of John Churchman's valuable Journal. After some search, the Author of the present volume has ascertained, that Peter Gardiner, or Gardner, (for his name is spelt both ways in the original documents,) lived not far from Castle Hedingham in Essex, perhaps *within* the borders of Suffolk; which may explain the substitution of one county for the other, in some of the records about to be referred to. The narrative, as published in the above-mentioned Journal, is thus introduced:—"Having often remembered a remarkable account, given me when in England by our ancient, worthy Friend, John Richardson; which, as it made some impression on my mind, I committed to writing, and now reviving, think it is worthy to be preserved; being nearly as follows, though I was not particular in regard to the time of the occurrence." Philad. edit. 1818, p. 214.—Whether some individual besides

John Churchman, had in like manner taken down the communication of John Richardson *to them*, is not known; but another version of it has been in circulation among Friends, which, while precisely the same as to all essential points, and therefore equally entitled to our credit, is rather preferable, as retaining a somewhat greater degree of originality. The reader will find this narrative in the Notes:—not because it is at all less worthy the special consideration of the judicious and awakened Christian, than the rest of Peter Gardiner's history; but because it might lead us too much away from the *Progress of the Friends in Scotland*. See Appendix, *CC*. With regard to his movements among Friends in that kingdom, we have but a few scattered particulars. The first to be adduced, relates to his visit at Aberdeen, and is mentioned by the Friends there, in the following terms:—

"We had at this Monthly Meeting, 3rd of 11th month, 1694-5, the acceptable and comfortable visit of two English Friends, Peter Gardiner in Suffolk, and James Leech in Berwick." At the next Monthly Meeting, there is a more extended notice of the former of these, by way of testimony to the goodness of the Lord, in thus favouring his poor instrument, and the congregation at large.—"Our dear Friend, Peter Gardiner, mentioned to have been at the last Monthly Meeting, was eminently attended with a singular gift from God, in travailing for and bringing forth several young plants among Friends' children, into a public ministry, about the middle of last month: particularly, Robert Barclay, Robert Gerard, and Margaret Jaffray, whose mouth was first opened: as well as he was the instrument of awakening several other young ones by a very tender visitation, which yet continues among

them :—And, O that it may continue, and *they* in the sense of it, to the end of their days! As also, about this time, the blessed God of our life was graciously pleased to give us a new, fresh, and large visitation, in abundantly pouring out his Spirit and Life among us in our gatherings; and some more mouths were opened among elders, particularly dear John Forbes of Aquorthies, as also Jane Molleson."

A confirmation of the above, may be seen in the language of the Friends of Ury Meeting, on the like occasion. They speak of Peter Gardiner as being "an honest and faithful man, of a weighty and discerning spirit." "He had great service for Truth hereaway, with good success in several places, particularly at Aberdeen, Ury, and Montrose; where many were wonderfully tendered and broken before the Lord, and several mouths were opened in testimony and prayer; particularly at Aberdeen, Robert Gerard, James and Timothy Forbes, and Margaret Jaffray; at Ury, Robert and David Barclay, and their sisters Christian and Catherine, their aunt Jane Molleson, and Joseph White; at Montrose, Jane Bettie wife of Robert Bettie."

In further illustration of the truth and import of the last-mentioned circumstances, it is pleasing to be able to produce an interesting, though rough draft of this devoted labourer's services in the neighbourhood of Ury;—but especially in the family of "the Apologist," whose widow then resided on that estate, with her seven children, the eldest of whom has been already spoken of at page 446.—It will not have escaped the recollection of the reader, how beautifully George Fox, in his sympathetic address to this bereaved widow,—after setting forth the consolations which flow from an union with the Lord, as the Husband and

Father of his people,—endeavours to stimulate her *to do the day's work*, to put on his strength, and to hope for his blessing on a faithful discharge of her duty, as *a spiritual nursing-mother* over her household. Indeed, he goes further; and subjoins his fervent prayer, that her children may be established upon the Rock, Christ Jesus, and thus be favoured of the Most High, through the fervent exercise of their surviving parent. But, in proceeding to describe the successful issue of such labour, it may be well to pause—and hold up to view *one means*, among others, which she used, by way of laying open the ground of the hearts of her tender offspring to the genial rays of Divine Light. We are informed by a Friend, who, about this time, passed several days under her roof, that "when her children were up in the morning, and dressed, she sat down with them before breakfast, and in a religious manner *waited upon the Lord;*" "which pious care," he adds, "and motherly instruction of her children when young, doubtless had its desired effect upon them; for, as they grew in years, they also grew in the knowledge of the blessed Truth; and since that time, some of them are become public preachers thereof." J. Gratton's Life, 1823, p. 114.—Thus cherished and watered, did Peter Gardiner find this group of young "olive plants," when he entered their abode.

"Upon the 16th of the 11th month, 1694, it pleased the Lord to send him to Ury; having come by Aberdeen, Kinmuck, and also Kingswells; in which last place, he was made instrumental in the Lord's hand, in bringing forth Andrew Jaffray's eldest daughter, in a public testimony. Afterward, in a meeting at Jane Somervill's at Aberdeen, he was under a great exercise, and said, He felt *the Life stopped* in some

there, and could not get forward, until the *Seed was at liberty:* after which, he was again brought forth in a living testimony, to the refreshment of all the meeting.

"When he came to Ury, which was on the 3rd day of the week, (Andrew Jaffray, David Wallace, and Robert Gerard accompanying him from Aberdeen,) he had a meeting there on 4th day. From thence, he went to Stonehaven on 5th day, being accompanied by most of them of Ury; and there he and Andrew Jaffray had, each of them, a good opportunity among the people that came into the meeting. From thence, we came that night to Springhall, [a house on the estate of Ury;] and had there a good meeting; only he said, He felt *the Life stopped* in some there, who would not give up to the Lord's requirings. The same night, after supper, he had a blessed opportunity with Robert Barclay, David, and Patience Barclay, John Gellie, David Wallace, and Robert Gerard; where we were all so mightily overcome, that we were made to cry out; and Robert Barclay, [aged 22 years,] was opened in a few living words of exhortation to the young generation there present, which reached and melted our hearts in a wonderful manner. He said, It was himself, who had occasioned the Life to be stopped in the foregoing meeting, by not giving up to the Lord's requirings: and so, he concluded in a few living words of prayer. After this, they retired to rest. Robert Barclay and Robert Gerard had a remarkably comfortable night, neither of them minding sleep much. Next day, which was 6th day, we had a blessed meeting among the children; where Christian Barclay the younger, [aged 14 years,] had her mouth opened in prayer, to the refreshment of us all. That

same day, we had a more general meeting at Ury; where Friends at Stonehaven, and those also about Ury attended.

"On the 7th day, we had another blessed morning meeting among the children; and the 1st day of the week following, we had a good meeting, about the middle of the day, where there was more people than usual; and Robert Barclay bore a living testimony among them. Life so went along with him in it, that it reached the hearts of many of them, and astonished others; his testimony being much to this purpose:—That the Lord had given them line upon line, and precept upon precept, one visitation after another, to the reaching of many of them; exhorting them to take up the cross and despise the shame, and so become fools for Christ's sake; that thus, they might think nothing too dear or near to them, in comparison with Him. And further he told them, he believed it would be the last visitation of the Lord to some of them; and advised them to turn in time, before it was over: for the Lord had now raised up *the third generation* to bear a testimony for his Truth among them in that place. In that meeting, was also his aunt Jane Molleson's mouth opened in a few words of testimony. That same night, we had a blessed meeting at Springhall; where David, [aged 12 years,] Catherine, [aged 16 years,] and Christian Barclay the younger bore, each of them, a testimony to the Truth: yet, notwithstanding all this, our Friend, Peter Gardiner, could not obtain ease, but felt *the Life stopped* in one there, and at last named the person, and desired him *to clear himself;* and so John Chalmers, their schoolmaster, [aged about 19 years; afterward an acceptable minister in Dublin,] stood up, and said a few words by way of testimony.

Then Peter ended the meeting in prayer, and came away easy. That same night, we had a good little meeting together in the school-room. Next morning, he had his farewell meeting at Ury: and so he, together with Robert and David Barclay, took his journey. But as we were parting at the end of the garden, Robert Barclay had some living words, by way of testimony, to those who accompanied us there.

"We came to Montrose that night; where, after we had rested awhile, we had a little meeting. Next morning we had a meeting among ourselves. About the middle of the day, we had a meeting of all the Friends of the town; and some other people came in: both Peter and Robert Barclay preached on that occasion. We had also another meeting that night, where Peter fully relieved his mind. Robert and David Barclay both declared the Truth among them, also John Gellie had some words of prayer. The substance of the testimonies borne in that meeting, were much to this purpose:—That none should sit down in Zion at their ease, but that they should travail for the prosperity of the Truth *in themselves and others;* and that none should love the world or the things of it too much, nor be covered with any other covering than the Spirit of Truth; and that a profession of the Truth would not do, *till persons came to the life, and possession of it.* Next morning, we had a blessed farewell meeting; and so parted from each other in much tenderness of heart. Peter Gardiner, David Wallace, and their companion went towards Edinburgh.

"After they were gone, Robert and David Barclay, John Gellie, and Robert Gerard, had a precious meeting together, where Robert Bettie and his wife were present. They returned to Ury that night, a little after nine o'clock. Next day, we had a blessed

meeting among the children. The day following, being the 25th of the same month, we had a glorious meeting, where Patience Barclay, [aged 19 years,] was opened, both in testimony and in prayer, to the refreshing of all our hearts. We held another good meeting among the children, the day after; where James Forbes, being then at Ury, had some words of testimony.

"And so, the Lord God, as he hath begun a good work, will carry it on, *if we be but faithful to him*, over all that the enemy or his instruments can do to hinder it. Oh! that we may think nothing too dear to part with, for Him; but that we may give up all freely for Him, if He please to make use of any of us as instruments in His hand;—and that our eye may be unto Him, and so abide faithful unto the end; which will be of more value than all the perishing pleasures and transitory enjoyments of this world."

The foregoing account carries with it every appearance of having been drawn up by one of the parties in these memorable opportunities, most probably Andrew Jaffray; but on this point, as it seems not easy to be determined, there is no further occasion to dwell. With regard to the application of these facts to our own day, and to individual experience, it may truly be said, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." Do we not see, in them, the accomplishment of one of the most prominent among the standing miracles foreordained respecting these gospel times?—"And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy:——and on my servants and on my handmaidens, I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy." Acts, ii. 17, 18. And again, another ancient language, which has

equal reference to more modern periods:—"Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, thou hast perfected praise." Matt. xxi. 16. It is hoped, however, that none will be inclined, in perusing the above statements, to cast these things from them; taking up the cheerless and unedifying conclusion, that these "*marvellous things*" do not concern them. For assuredly, "*Those things which are revealed, belong unto us and unto our children.*" The example of such as have listened, and heard, and answered the call of the Lord, to give up their hearts to his disposal and direction, that He may work in or by them, altogether according to his own good pleasure,—most certainly, *these* examples speak forth the inviting language, *Follow us, as we have followed Christ:* they form one link in that chain of evidence, in mercy continued down, even to us of the present age, through the long line of patriarchs, prophets, and believers of every degree—that God is most favourably inclined, to draw near and to dwell with ALL who diligently seek Him,—that he will richly reward them, even in this life, with the lifting up of the light of His countenance,—that he will dignify ALL who trust in and obey him, with the manifestations of his love and power, and even make them, in one way or another, instruments of his glory for the good of souls.

Peter Gardiner, proceeding on his journey through the other meetings of Friends in Scotland, on his way homeward, arrived at Carlisle: from this place, as it is supposed, he wrote the ensuing epistle, but a very short time before he was taken with his last illness. It affords some clear indications of a sound and living faith, an unsophisticated simplicity of love, a heavenly meekness and gratitude, which were now fast ripening for a better state.

"It is thought fit," observe the Friends of Aberdeen, "here to insert our dear Friend and Brother Peter Gardiner's last salutation of love to this meeting, by way of epistle, a little before he laid down the body; it having pleased the Lord to remove him a little after, by the small-pox, at Carlisle, as he was returning homeward, about the —— of ——1695:—which paper follows—he having been so notable an instrument hereaway.

"'This is the tender salutation of my love to Friends in general belonging to Aberdeen.

"'My dear and loving Friends, which are near and dear to me in the everlasting Truth of my God!

"'In the eternal love of God, with which our souls have been refreshed together—in this love, doth my soul dearly salute you all; hoping these few lines may find you all in good health, as, (glory to my God!) I am at this time;—and I have had a prosperous journey—glory be to the eternal God! Though my inward exercises have been *very great*, yet, this is matter of great joy, that the work of my God is going on. For the Lord is pouring out of his Spirit in a glorious manner, *in the west of Scotland:*—there are three come forth in a [public] testimony, to the great refreshment of the souls of many. Therefore, dear Friends, let us labour together in the work of our God.

"'And I beseech you all, in the eternal love of God,—which I do at this time feel to spring towards you,—do not *despise the day of small things;* for whosoever despiseth the day of small things *in themselves or others,* a withering day will *certainly* come upon them. Therefore, dear Friends, cry mightily unto the Lord on the behalf of your children: for I do believe, that the Lord will pour out his Spirit upon them, and make them very glorious, as they give up

in obedience unto him:—for I feel the love of God very large, towards you and your children. And I was glad to hear of the sweet stream of Life, which I heard ran among you since I came away.

"'So, dear Friends, in a fresh stream of Life, doth my soul dearly salute you all, desiring the continuance of your prayers for me: so, I remain your Friend and Brother in the Lord,

"'PETER GARDINER.'

"Note. There is an account in writing, *in Andrew Jaffray's hand*, to be laid up among Friends' Records, of some remarkable services of the said Peter Gardiner, especially in this country."

The only remaining memorial which has come to hand, concerning this faithful follower of a self-denying and crucified Redeemer, is that conveyed in a Letter from John Bowstead, a Friend of Carlisle, to Francis Stamper of London. Having left all, to follow Christ and his leadings in the service of his church and gospel, so far as he believed to be required of him,—and having laboured and travelled diligently in that particular district, the spiritual welfare of which, we have been engaged in contemplating; he is at length about to put in force, by patient resignation unto death, that injunction of the Apostle, "We ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." John, iii. 16.

"Aglionby, 12th of 3rd month, 1695.

"Dear Friend, Francis Stamper,

"By these thou mayst understand, that I received thine from London the 30th of 1st month, and it is now before me; and thy request therein I hereby answer in the following lines.

"Our dear Friend, Peter Gardiner, made a very sweet and heavenly end, to the general satisfaction of all present; for the Spirit and power of God was with him: and, at divers times in his sickness, he spake many seasonable and weighty words; of which I take some, as follows.—On the 5th day before he departed this life, I was sent for by some Friends of the city of Carlisle; and when I came into the room where he lay sick, I asked him how it was with him? he said, 'Ah, John! I am sick in body, but the Lord reigns gloriously in Zion: his power is over all his enemies.' And, often using the word *John*, as I sat by him, he said, 'Ah, John! there is a terrible day approaching this nation, the weight of which bowed my spirit as I came along—I saw it before I left the kingdom of Scotland—Oh! it bowed me, it was even like death unto me.' So [he] lay still a little time, and I asked, how it was with him?—for I felt him under an exercise of spirit;—and I asked him, if he would have me write his will? 'Yea;' said he, 'and what thou doest, do quickly.' So I wrote it, and read it to him, and it satisfied him much. Then, sitting in silence a little while, I was moved of the Lord to prayer: after me, Peter Gardiner prayed very powerfully,—*That the Lord would preserve his people together in unity, and would spare and overshadow them with the wing of his power, until the storm be passed over;*—or words to that purpose. And, the power of the Lord being over all, I think all that were in the room, were melted and broken into tenderness; and some that were fallen back from the Truth, being present, were also tendered, and made to confess that the Lord was with him,—and *indeed*, so He was. So, lying quietly for a little while, there came into the room, one that was not a

Friend, but under convictions in his heart; Peter Gardiner asked me, [as I sat] upon the bedside by him, Who that was, that came into the room? There being many, and most [of them] Friends, I said, 'This is a Friend.' 'Ah!' said he, 'it is no Friend; is it not *such a one?*' so called him near,—and it was so. Peter Gardiner was so full of the small-pox, that he could not see at that time. He then spoke to the young man, and said, 'Thou hast no peace in thy lying down, nor in thy uprising; therefore, I charge and warn thee in the name of the Lord my God, that thou speedily return, and draw near unto the Lord, whilst thou hast a day afforded thee. For, now is the day of thy visitation; and the Lord is still striving with thee; and if thou dost not return, thou wilt repent, when time will be too late with thee. I tell thee, thou wouldst be heir of *two kingdoms*, but wilt never obtain them *both*:'—with many other weighty words to particular Friends, which would be too tedious here to mention.

"A copy of his last words to Friends in his own country and elsewhere, I here send thee, as follows.

"'Dear Friends,

"'Inasmuch as it has been my lot to be concerned in the service of Truth, and to have a portion amongst the people of God, I can bless his name, that He hath thought me worthy to have a name amongst them that are *living;* for I have sweet peace with Him, that is the Redeemer of Israel, and am now waiting for my Pilot to conduct me to my long home.'

"To his wife, thus:

"'My dear Wife,

"'In the fresh springs of Life that flow forth from my Father's presence, do I dearly salute thee,

and our dear children, and Friends, with desires in my heart, that grace, mercy, and peace, may dwell plentifully in and amongst you, unto your lives' end! Farewell!

"'PETER GARDINER.'

"He had but three meetings in this county, after he left Scotland; and in them, he *hinted* of five judgments approaching this nation; as, fire, sword, famine, pestilence, and a dreadful earthquake; *if timely repentance, doth not turn away the wrath and displeasure of the Lord.*

"This, at present, with my love to thyself and Friends.

"I rest thy Friend,

"JOHN BOWSTEAD."

The Author of these Memoirs had not intended making either note or comment on any part of the above communication. But the nature of the last paragraph of it, conveying a direct *prophetic* enunciation, is such as might, in some minds, materially weaken the profitable impressions raised by what has gone before. He is therefore induced to observe,—that, without question, there dwells at times upon pious, exercised souls, such a deep sense of the extensive revolt and ingratitude of man towards the Giver of all good, as even well nigh to overwhelm! Some of these, wondering at the mercy and forbearance lengthened out to a guilty generation, have been also led to entertain doubts, whether the cup of Divine indignation has not, in their day, been full, and is not ready to be poured out in those channels of righteous retribution, which, the Scriptures of truth assure us, are in the prerogative of an Almighty Creator.

In a small volume, entitled "Memoirs of the Rev. Thomas Halyburton, professor of divinity in the University of St. Andrews," published at Glasgow, 1830, there is a passage, occurring in the death-bed experience of this individual, by no means dissimilar to the foregoing. He died in 1712, about twenty-two years after Peter Gardiner.—Upon one saying to him, "I thought, Sir, you was expressing your fears respecting the times," he answered, "Yes, indeed; I am no *prophet*, I am not *positive* on the head; but I greatly fear a heavy stroke is coming on this land, I fear the plague of God is coming on Scotland." One said, "The pestilence, Sir, do you mean?" He replied, "Yes, indeed, and a bloody sword also. Nay, it is what I feared these several years, and I abide by it, I am of the same mind still; and I do not see what way it is avoidable *without a miracle;* and a miracle I do not expect:—but seek to be established in the Truth. These are like to be trying times." p. 365.

CHAPTER XVII.

1680 to 1700: THE CHRISTIAN CONCERN AND CARE OF FRIENDS, DURING THIS PERIOD, WITH REGARD TO THE EDUCATION OF THEIR CHILDREN, AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT, &c.—VISITS OF ROBERT BARROW AND JOHN GRATTON—1697: ANDREW JAFFRAY AND ROBERT BARCLAY JUNIOR TRAVEL TO THE HIGHLANDS—DEATH OF LILIAS SKENE AND PATRICK LIVINGSTON.

THE comforts and advantages that attach to the liberty of serving God according to conscience, were now, as regards this Christian community, in full operation. The present chapter will be opened with some agreeable symptoms that have been collected, of their state and progress under these circumstances: showing, during a considerable space of time, what use they made of the clemency and toleration extended towards them.

In the year 1681, the little cluster of Friends in this northern region, insulated in great degree, as they then felt themselves to be, and cut off from the privileges of communication with more populous districts of their fellow-professors, concluded to establish two schools, one at Aberdeen and the other at Kinmuck, for the benefit of their children. On this subject, there is ample proof of the continuance of their enlightened and weighty concern. In the epistles issued by their collective assemblies, they hold out, in a manner very fit for a Christian society to do, the primary importance of training up children in the fear, nurture, and admonition of the Lord; "that they may, through the blessing from above, come to have an inheritance and portion in the heritage of Jacob."

They frequently urge, their being early made acquainted with what the Lord had done for this people, in separating them for Himself out of all other kindreds of the earth; and that, in the liberty and fear of God, the *nature* of that spiritual standard which they are called upon to uphold, should be explicitly conveyed to the tender mind. They also advert to the pernicious example and fellowship of ungodly children, and the great advantage of having their youth sheltered under the care of such Friends, as, being *in the Truth* themselves, would not suffer them to "be corrupted from the simplicity" of it, either by heathenish books, or other unsound sentiments. This exercise on behalf of the children of their members, in a particular manner rested on the mind of Christian Barclay; herself the parent of a large and interesting family, and "a mother in Israel." She addressed several epistles to her Friends, stimulating those who stood in this responsible station, to a steadfast zeal for the best welfare of their families; desiring they might feel themselves far more strongly bound to provide, so far as in them lay, for the sustenance of these in a spiritual, than in an outward sense. "Because," she remarks, "we have felt the virtuous Power of God, which hath visited us in our hearts, to be to our souls *the Bread of life*." Therefore, (she intimates,) should we rest at ease, while our children are feeding on the barren spirit of this world, without breathing to the Lord for their *souls' provision*, we are much below *the very infidels*. She expresses her belief, that the Lord is near, and ready by his power to help the upright-hearted, in answering his righteous will in these important respects; and that *we*, of all people, are left without excuse, since He has given us to know *the fountain of strength and goodness in*

ourselves, so that we need never be at a loss, if we are but rightly retired to the gift of God, and submit ourselves to his holy ordering.—Her "well-accomplished" mind was, in the like earnest manner, directed towards those in the relation of master and servant, as well as towards her poor neighbours.

On the subject of a wholesome administration of church government, the origin and nature of which, has been somewhat explained in an early chapter of this history, we find that, early in the year 1680, so soon as the long interruption occasioned by persecution would permit, they quickly resumed their former practice, of meeting monthly or oftener for the regulation of such affairs.

Towards the close of the year 1690, they received a letter from George Fox, just before his own removal by death; recommending to them, in common with the Society at large, a design so fraught with extensive and permanent benefit, that it may be called a *legacy* of no common value. It was his wish, they should separate certain of their number whom they approved, to have upon them the express charge of corresponding with Friends in London on the state and welfare of their brethren; that thus, in this corner of the camp, as well as elsewhere, they might be reciprocally cheered, as George Fox expresses himself, by *a continual report of the prosperity of the church, and the spreading of the Truth in all parts of the world;* while they would be in the way of receiving that sympathy and help, in cases of difficulty or distress, which the Friends of London, from their central position and other circumstances, were especially qualified to render. A further purpose, which he had in view by this excellent systematic connexion, was the circulation of books, tracts, and epistles, which

might serve either to edify their own members, or to inform others. The sound wisdom and excellent feeling, which first prompted these arrangements, are indisputable; the advantages, also, resulting from them, have been very great, even to the present day; but we are scarcely competent to say, what might be the effect of these measures, were they carried to the full extent, which the projector seemed to have in view.

In the year 1693, another commendable practice was concluded to be adopted by the Friends at Aberdeen,—a practice then prevalent, as they state, both in Ireland and in many parts of England—that two weighty Friends in the meeting should be appointed from one quarter to another, *to have more especially upon them* the care and oversight of their members. They were to visit them in their families, and to give them advice, in meekness, wisdom, and love, as they might see needful. With regard to the minutiæ and the routine of these things, it is obvious, that circumstances will occasion variation of practice, in different ages and in different places; but the savour and intent of them will ever be uniformly the same. And in proportion as the gathered churches, that profess faith in Christ Jesus, more purely come into the Spirit of their holy and blessed Head, the management of their affairs of this description will become more simple, more efficient,—tending to the honour of God, the preservation, the restoration, and the growth one of another in spiritual things, as well as to the admiration of those that are not of the same "fold."

A further instance of the zest with which those of this generation pursued the imperishable things that pertain to life, and peace, and godly edifying, is that

of their *weekly family meetings at each other's houses in rotation;* which they justly notice, as resembling the practice of the primitive Christians, and as affording a spiritual "repast" to such as wish to feed at the Lord's table.—Not that these faithful watchmen had no causes of anxiety and grief, as to some of those towards whom they yearned, and for whose welfare the breathing of their spirits went daily up to the Father of mercies. *There were such causes*—and amongst these, is specified a degree of slackness in coming up to the help of the Lord, by presenting themselves with their brethren before him in some of their solemn feasts. Yet, certainly, on the whole, the observations made by one upon the state of this Society in another land, at about the same period, may be said to apply with equal truth to Scotland: "In those days, the meetings of Friends were more eminently favoured with Divine power, as they lived more devoted to Christ, and consequently more abounding with his love flowing in their hearts. Those happy men and women left the Lord's vineyard, (through their faithful labours, with the Divine blessing upon them,) well fenced and clean, (having gathered out the stones thereof,) and abounding with the excellent fruits of the Holy Spirit of Christ." James Gough's Life.

Many were the gospel embassies which this people were favoured with, about this period, from messengers in the Lord's service; the number of those who came from England, and were at Aberdeen, being noticed as amounting to twenty-one, in the space of four months. Among such, appear the names of Robert Barrow in the year 1691, and John Gratton about three years after. Both of them were much exercised on behalf of their brethren; they were especially de-

sirous that the rules and plans of church discipline prevailing in their own country, might be steadily maintained here also, in all its branches; and from the pen of each was an address prepared, with a view to provoke to love and to good works. The former of these individuals, after adverting very particularly to methods of good order, says, "So, seeing here is *preaching* enough, and you *know* enough, it is greatly needful to practise and perform religious duties, and to bring forth fruits of righteousness, to the praise of the good Husbandman. *For preaching is but an information,* to reach the witness, or stir up the pure mind by way of remembrance, being as *the suburbs of religion;* but life and practice, in a performance of doing God's will on earth,—the seed being raised that delights therein,—this is the substance, even the very essence and marrow of the matter; in the enjoyment of which, [both] male and female come to have *the seal of the Spirit,* that we are his people, and concerned in our day for God's glory."

In a letter from this Friend, Robert Barrow, addressed to George Whitehead and Stephen Crisp, dated the 15th of 11th month, 1691-2, from Kingswells near Aberdeen, the estate of the Jaffray family, he speaks of his visit to these parts in the following terms:—"Blessed be the Lord, I find things generally well, in unity and good order, which makes Friends' travel both easy and comfortable. And about Aberdeen and somewhat northward of it, there is a fine openness, divers of late convinced, and hopeful to continue; and many inclinable and willing to hear, and the name of an Englishman is *famous* among them. And though I be but a weak instrument, and having no fellow-traveller nor outward

companion; yet, blessed be the Lord, I have had a very comfortable journey, as my heart could desire. And though it be the winter season and shortest days, that I have sometimes travelled before day, and after day hath been gone, yet the Lord hath given me health in all weathers, both wet and dry."——

"Postscript. Dear George Whitehead, this youth, that comes to be apprentice to J. Danson, is come of good parents; his father's name is *Andrew Jaffray*—may be, thou hast heard of him—he is the most noted man among Friends, both in testimony, and in a church care and government, in the affairs thereof. So, after thou be acquainted with the boy, I could wish thee to take a little oversight of him; and see that J. and his wife be tender to him. I hope the lad may be deserving,—so do it for his parent's sake."—Colchester Monthly Meeting Collection of Manuscript Correspondence.

A short account has been preserved of a journey, performed in the work of the ministry by Andrew Jaffray, Robert Barclay, David Wallace, and Alexander Spark, as far north as Inverness, and westward among the Highlands, where no Friends had before that time travelled. It is as follows.

"Robert Barclay, David Wallace, Alexander Spark, and Andrew Jaffray, took journey from Aberdeen, in the love of God and unity of the Friends of Truth, upon the 17th of 6th month, called August, 1697. We tarried some time by the way at Inverness, where A. Jaffray had some good service among Friends. Rode that night to Edomstoun, two miles from Strathboggie, twenty-two miles, where we had a very kind reception in a discreet house; the landlord of which being very sick, A. Jaffray felt it with him

to speak to and pray for him. Next day, the 18th, at Lochabers, where we dined, A. Jaffray declared Truth among the people at the market-place; and in our quarters, we had good service with one Calder, a noted priest, and one Dr. Steinson. Rode that night to Elgin, where A. Jaffray was concerned to preach in the street, and had a peaceable time among the people at the cross about the 7th hour; though, at our first coming into that town, hardly any would receive us: we travelled that day twenty miles. Next day, the 19th, in our journey to Inverness, we breakfasted by the way at Forres, eight miles, at one Alexander Stewart's, whose wife was a very serious, discreet woman: with them we left some books. Dined at Nairn, eight miles, at one John Dollar's; whose wife, in his absence from home, promised to give up their house for a meeting on our return. We there called upon Daniel Monro's sister, and had some service in that family; and so rode on to Inverness that evening, in all twenty-eight miles.

"Next day, the 20th, rode up through Strath Erick, having furnished ourselves with a guide and victuals, and came that night to a place called Killghimmy, at the head of Loch Ness; lodging at one Miles Macdonald's, where we had a good little evening meeting. The master of the house, though a Papist, was made to confess, after the meeting, to the Truth declared. That day we rode twenty-four miles. On the next, we went to Lochell's house, with great difficulty, up the sides of Loch Orch and Loch Lochy, eighteen miles. This seat is called Achnacarry, near Loch Arkeg. There we remained next day, being 1st day, and had a very good meeting among several people that understood English, and some other good services. On the 24th, A. Jaffray and D. Wallace rode

down to the garrison at Inverlochie; where, the next morning, we had a notable opportunity with Colonel Hill, who received A. Jaffray's message very soberly and discreetly, acknowledging the truth of his testimony, which was to this purport: That there are greater enemies to be subdued within, than all outward rebels and enemies, even the passions and lusts of our own hearts; from which enemies of a man's own house, come all outward wars, insurrections, rebellions, and disorders. These inward enemies can only be subdued, quelled, and overcome, by following the conduct of Christ, the inward captain, by his Light and Spirit; not by might, nor by outward power, but by his grace, which hath appeared unto all men, and teaches or enables all who obey it, to deny and subdue all ungodliness and worldly lusts, as well as to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world. And this victory over one's self by the Christian weapons, is a greater conquest than the subduing of all countries, according to that ancient distich,

> 'He that commands himself is more a prince
> Than he who nations keeps in awe;
> And they who yield to that their soul's convince
> Shall never need another law.' [See Appendix, *DD.*]

"To this inward principle of Divine grace he was directed; and he confessed thereto very lovingly. Afterward, A. Jaffray had a notable opportunity with the priest of the garrison, in the presence of a great company of the soldiers. So, being clear, D. Wallace and he rode back that afternoon to Lochell's house at Achnicarry; this being the furthest point of our journey, one hundred and twenty-two miles.

"We staid the 26th, there being a very great rain,

and had a very good meeting; at which, Lochell the elder and younger were present, and several people that understood English, who were very evidently reached; and we sensibly felt the love and openness of Lochell's family, more after the meeting than before. [See Appendix, *EE*.] Next morning, the 27th, we came away in tender love, Lochell the younger conveying us eight or ten miles on our way; and we were wonderfully preserved that evening, in a great danger, in passing through a water, called Ballaloyn, which was greatly inundated, and which we were obliged to get over, or else lose our service at Inverness next 1st day. That night, we lay at a very mean house on the water-side, and could scarce get any roof to be under. On the 28th, we all four came safely to Inverness with our guide, having been preserved through several dangers—blessed be the Lord our God! We took up our quarters in the Castle Street, at our former lodging at one Isabel Cowie's, a discreet woman; where, that evening, we had an excellent opportunity with three townsmen of the place, who came on purpose to pay us a visit and to confer with us, viz. Robert Cumin of Relugus, a very sharp, discreet, pertinent man; George Duncan, a modest Presbyterian; and one Falconer, an Episcopalian. The principles of Truth were fully opened to them, in some of the deepest points; particularly as to the first motive of credibility, and ultimate judge of controversy; and Robert Cumin most ingenuously conceded to our openings thereupon, when his understanding and the witness for God was reached. Also, with regard to the possibility of falling from true grace, Friends were fully vindicated from a gross slander, which George Duncan told us was laid upon us, namely, That we boasted of our own strength and

abilities to keep God's commandments; wherein we gave him and the company abundant satisfaction. It was, indeed, a blessed opportunity; and the Lord was most preciously present with R. Barclay and A. Jaffray, who only were concerned with them at that season:—blessed be his faithful name for ever!

"The next day, being the 1st day of the week, we had a very precious little meeting among ourselves, about the 10th hour, where we were sweetly comforted together in the feeling of the heart-breaking love of our God. A. Jaffray having signified, that it lay upon him as a duty, to speak to the people when they should come out from their forenoon worship; we went all four together, in the unity of the Spirit, to the end of the street where their worship-house stands. And having attended, and walked to and again, till the throng of the people came forth, both from the English and Erse houses—for, in one of them, they preach to the country people in Erse, though many of them also understood English—a living, open testimony was borne there to the true worship of God, the spirituality of it, the way and manner of it; also the nearness of the Spirit of Christ to people, as an inward principle, and how to know the same from all other spirits not of God; that so therein they might worship the Father in the one true and living way. The people stood exceedingly attentive and sober, both great and small, there being a very great crowd, and no disturbance in the least was made; after which, we walked peaceably up the street to our quarters. We had intimated to the people, at the end of the public testimony, that it was our intention in the Lord's will, to have a meeting at our quarters, that afternoon about the 4th hour, after the dissolution of their public worship. At the hour appointed,

our landlady having very willingly yielded to let us have the use of her house for that end, we had a very full and large meeting. Not only the large room wherein it was, but the next room, chambers above, and the stairs, being all crowded with people; who were exceedingly sober and serious all the time. And the Lord's power and blessed presence, as a fountain suitable to the occasion, was largely let forth for his own work:—blessed be his holy name for ever! That night, A. Jaffray went to visit the old Bishop of Murray, called Hay, who was sore diseased in his body by a palsy. The following day, finding ourselves clear, and having dispersed several books, we set forward on our journey homewards. We were at John Dollar's at Nairn, where the woman had promised us the use of her house for a meeting. Accordingly, her husband being then returned, gave it up freely; and we had a most precious season among a great many people, who, upon the very first intimation of a meeting, filled the room, stairs, and streets; where there was a wonderful breaking in of the tender, melting, opening life and love of God, *as if they had been all settled Friends.* Indeed, such a season of life and glory, among a people not gathered into the Truth, none of us did ever see! Surely, the Lord hath a great seed to gather in that place and thereaway: O that it may be often visited, watered, and prepared for a harvest, and brought into his garners!

"After this blessed season, we rode that night to Elgin to William Douglas's, our former lodging, being twenty-eight miles in all; then to Edomstoun, where our former discreet landlady fell a blessing the Lord, who had sent His servants to her house; having declared, that, after A. Jaffray had prayed for her

husband, when we were there before, he had daily recovered from that time. The next day, we came safely to Aberdeen, being the day before the Monthly Meeting, being a journey of two hundred and forty-four miles."

This year, as the records of the Meeting testify, "Upon the 21st of the 4th month, 1697, it pleased the Lord our God, to bring to the sweet harbour of his everlasting rest, a long-tossed vessel upon the waves of many afflictions, namely, Lilias Skene, [whose maiden name was] Gillespie, the widow of Alexander Skene, some time bailie, of Newtyle. [She was] a woman of a serious life from her childhood, attended with much sickness of body and exercise of mind—[also] afflictions of many sorts. Among the professors, she was one of the most eminent; [but] was brought out from them, by a strong hand, into the precious Truth, about the year 1667; in which she lived about thirty years, in a true measure of honesty, though attended with deep temptations and tribulations; and died in the 71st year of her age. Her body was buried on the 24th at Kingswells, beside that of her husband, [who died in 1693.]"

But it had pleased the Lord, about three years before, to remove from works to rewards another of these worthies—Patrick Livingston, at about the age of 60 years—one of the most laborious instruments whom he had seen meet to make use of, in this district, at the first springing up of such a people.

Although the scene of his last days was the neighbourhood of London; yet, as he spent the morning and the prime of his time, in the defence and propagation of the gospel, among his fellow-countrymen in this part of Scotland, it will be proper to subjoin

some further information respecting him, in addition to that which has gone before; showing, that the standard of Truth, which he had been called upon to display, was only laid down with his life. He travelled, in the exercise of his gift as a minister, in many parts of England and Ireland, and to most places in his native country. In the year 1699, in company with James Halliday, he visited the Orkney Islands; in which journey, it is said, they had good service, and several remarkable circumstances occurred, which were not committed to writing; particularly at the Synod in Elgin, Murrayshire, at Kirkwall in Orkney, and in the Isle of Stroma. Besides his long detention in the gaol of Aberdeen, he had to bear a testimony to the Truth, by imprisonment in Newgate, London, for a considerable time, about the year 1684. The condition of the prisoners at the latter place, is briefly set forth in a petition, addressed by Friends to King James the 2nd and his Parliament, soon after his accession to the throne.—"And here in London," say they, "the gaol of Newgate hath been from time to time crowded, within these two years, sometimes near twenty in a room, to the prejudice of their health; and several poor innocent tradesmen have of late been so suffocated by the coldness of the prison, that they have been taken out sick of a malignant fever, and died in a few days after."—In his latter years, Patrick Livingston left Nottingham, where he had resided, and came with his family to London; there, he continued a diligent labourer in the Lord's vineyard, several times visiting his friends in Scotland, especially in 1693, the year before his death. Of this engagement they declare, that, *of all the times he had been among them,* his ministry was attended, throughout his visit, with *the largest*

and most plentiful measure of the Lord's blessed power they had witnessed, he being wonderfully borne up through all, though very weak in body; so that they term it, "his endeared farewell to his spiritual kindred."

After his return home, he grew weaker, until he departed this life, on the 15th of the 4th month, 1694, at the house of John Kirton, Kensington, near London, where he had been removed for the benefit of the air. Several Friends were present with him in his last hours, during which time these heavenly expressions flowed from him. The day before his departure, he said, "I am in unity with all faithful Friends, and in love to all men." About an hour previous to his close, he cried, "O Father! O Father!" A little while after, mentioning his weakness of body, as if he desired more strength to utter what was on his mind, *and this being then apparently granted to him,* he said, "Let Life reach unto all here;" and pulling off his nightcap with his own hand, about half an hour ere he was removed hence, he said, "Blessed, praised, magnified, and exalted, be the mighty, powerful, great, and everlasting name of the Lord God, for evermore!—Oh! that thy Life may arise in full dominion over all, and that Friends may feel it so, in all their assemblies;—that they may be kept in love, concord, and unity together, and show it forth in word, work, testimony, life, and conversation unto all!"—adding, "Life being over all, here we have all we need, and here there is a lying down in true submission to the will of the Lord; and laying down our heads in peace and rest with Him for evermore, for evermore!" Then said, "Here is victory over death, hell, and the grave, and resting in peace with the Lord for evermore!"

CHAPTER XVIII.

1699: VISIT AND EPISTLE OF SAMUEL WATSON TO FRIENDS IN SCOTLAND—1723: MEMOIR OF ALEXANDER SEATON, ROBERT SCOTT, AND DAVID WALLACE; ALSO SOME ACCOUNT OF CHRISTIAN BARCLAY AND HER FAMILY.

THE preceding chapter has carried forward to the close of the 17th century, these memorials of the faithfulness of a covenant-keeping God towards a little remnant, who had made a covenant with him by sacrifice. They had embraced *that law in the inward parts*, to which the Prophet Jeremiah, when describing the new covenant dispensation, makes allusion,—"*the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus*," who remains the blessed Mediator of it. While a people thus separated unto God, abide true to him, while their heart is right in his sight, while they continue steadfast in his covenant of light and life, how excellent is their heritage, how desirable their portion! and how fully does it come up to that prediction of the evangelical messenger of the Lord concerning these times, when "the Spirit," being "poured upon us from on high," "My people," saith he, "shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting-places." Isai. xxxii. 15, 18.

That this was in good degree the experience of the Friends in Scotland, up to the time of the opening of another century, may be somewhat seen by the tenour of an epistle, in gospel love addressed to them by Samuel Watson, an able and weighty minister, whose

residence was in England. He had then recently, in his old age, paid them a second general visit through their meetings; and was on his way home. Having, as he intimates, at a very early period,—and probably before there were any Friends at Aberdeen or its neighbourhood,—witnessed the first breaking forth of that heavenly faith and zeal, which was remarkable among the precursors of this people; he was well qualified, sensibly to perceive any departure from the purity and strength of primitive days.

Samuel Watson to Friends in Scotland.

"Hamilton, 29th of 5th month, 1699.

"My dear Friends in Scotland!

"The Lord of the whole earth hath drawn me, out of my own country, to visit you in the ancient Truth, having been formerly in this nation about forty years ago,—a time of hazarding my life for the elect's sake, when little appearance of that heavenly life was brought forth, which now is made manifest, and shines over the cloudy day. Many are now brought into the fold, where the true Bishop and Shepherd of their souls is teaching them; and they know a feeding in the green pastures of divine love, and a sitting down where none shall make them afraid—living praises to our God, who hath wrought this great and marvellous work for a remnant! And this I do witness in my travel, in the several parts of this nation; wherein I have been comforted in the sweet appearances of divine life, and the overflowings of heavenly love have run forth as a glorious stream, to the watering God's heritage; and the plants of renown spring up together, and are more and more strengthened to bring forth fruit to the honour and renown of Him, who not only plants but gives an increase.

"O you tender-hearted ones, and honourable! who spring from the royal seed, where is no mixture of wickedness,—you are as marrow to my bones, and so near to my life, that I am made to rejoice in the feeling of this great work of salvation, which God hath wrought among you. O keep in the tents of holiness, and to the Rock of your salvation! and then, (it is the word of the Lord to you,) no tempest or storm, which may come for the trial of your faith, shall remove you; but ye shall be built upon Mount Zion, which cannot be removed. Let the weak be assisted and strengthened by your gentle and tender care over them; let them never be discouraged by your neglect, or by a want of godly care to help them, even the very hindermost of the flock; for over these, the enemy seeks to get advantage, and, Amalek like, to destroy them. But the camp of the Lord is full of love and of power, and the shout of a king is among them; and the Captain of our salvation is with us, and He teacheth us to make war in righteousness, and He it is that will overcome all our enemies; everlasting praises be to Him, and that for evermore, amen!

"And further, I declare it unto you, as it appears unto me—O let your hearts be tendered in the love of God—This visiting again of your nation, did often stir in me as a fire in my bosom, which could not be quenched; being of the nature of that love, which, it is said, "many waters cannot quench, neither can the floods drown,"—(for if it could, I had many reasonings to stop it)—but divine love is of that force, that it prevails over all, and possesses the kingdom. In which love, I was prevailed with, to come and visit you who are gathered of the Lord, and who feel divine refreshing, as well as those who are not yet gathered among the lost sheep of Israel;—that they may come

and feel the touches of His love, who would not the death of any, but that all might come to Him, who is the Life, and gives life unto the saints. And for no other end was I drawn to visit this nation, together with these two striplings who are with me, the one being my own daughter, and the other an innocent Friend [Janet Stow;] both of them being my spiritual relations. And the Lord's power hath gone along with us, according to our upright intention; we not coming in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in plain evidence and demonstration of the Spirit of God; that the holy witness might be reached in all, and that life might spring in all, that death and dead works might be reigned over in every individual, and life and immortality might be brought to light through the gospel, of which He hath made a remnant publishers, to his praise and glory for ever! And the good effects of the love of God, we have felt, in the places where we have been travelling; and we can now return to our own nation with sheaves of joy in our bosom, and give good tidings to our friends, that the Lord's power and presence is with you, and his mighty and glorious work of redemption and sanctification is going on. And we have been truly comforted in a remnant, who are valiant for the Truth upon earth, and find nothing too dear to part with, for the honour of his name and that blessed Truth, of which they are made living partakers; so that, with one spirit and one consent, we can praise and magnify His power, which hath called us unto this great work of his gospel.

"And finally, my Friends, brethren and sisters in the fellowship of the gospel, considering the great care and pains the Lord hath taken with us, to make us polished stones for the building of his church; how

great is the need we daily have, to keep in the feeling of his power, as members of his body; every one doing some work and service for him. Our God hath mightily wrought for the establishing of his people in an excellent order, and he hath raised up many, out of the graves of sin and dead formality, to meet together in his name; so that now, we have particular meetings, both Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly.

"Now, dear Friends, though you know these things, I would stir you up by way of remembrance: as it was in the days of Moses, it should be now with us, who are under the government and teaching of our spiritual Moses. In every meeting, some faithful men and women, fearing God and hating covetousness, which is idolatry, should be appointed, duly to inspect into the families of their particular meeting; to see that there be no neglect of the poor, no disorderly walking on the part of any person that professes the Truth, neither unfaithfulness in any degree: and an account should be brought up to the Monthly Meeting, according to the gospel order. And in your meetings, a weighty course should be had, in calling each meeting to examination, how things are amongst them; that thus all things may be brought to the Light, and proved by it, whether they be wrought in God, yea or nay. Then, you can come up to your Quarterly Meeting, in a true sense, how things are with you: and so, all being kept in good order, you can sit down in the peaceable gospel, in love and unity, being refreshed in the love of God and one with another.

"This I desire, as an ancient brother, in the love of God, who hath made us partakers of his grace, wherein, while keeping in obedience, we feel a being bound up in the bundle of divine love, never to be

separated. In which love I salute you all, and take my leave of you.

"SAMUEL WATSON."

While we may, with some feeling of instruction and delight, be allowed to dwell upon or cling to such evidence, as that which the above document affords us, of the favourable condition of a church, professing to be guided by the Spirit of Christ; we must, still, prepare for and accept the unwelcome intelligence,—that *these scenes, in their brightness, did not long continue.* Another century was opening—and opening alike upon the ardent, hopeful, generous spirit of youth, as upon the ripening graces of "the ancient and honourable;"—these last were being fast gathered to the garner of eternal rest, while the former were but girding on the armour of righteousness, beginning the good fight of faith against a host of enemies. The age of intolerance, of popular violence, of systematic persecution was gone by; but the age of prosperity and of self-indulgence, the age of formality, of spiritual lethargy, and leanness was stealing on. That which the Sacred Volume has recorded, respecting outward Israel of old, might in measure be applied to the case of these—a very small division of the spiritual Israel: "The people served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great works of the Lord, that he did for Israel.—And there arose another generation after them, which knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel." Judges, ii. 7, 10.

A worthy, living remnant has indeed been hitherto preserved among the Society of Friends, even *in these districts,* where their principles were so boldly, so

nobly maintained, though they be only as "gleaning grapes"—"two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough"—so "few, that a child may write them." Through the merciful hand and renewed visitations of the Most High upon them, he has been pleased, from season to season, to water, to dig about, and to dress the plants of this portion of his vineyard, as well as to introduce among them of the choicest of his stock, enabling them to bring forth the fruits of holiness abundantly, "to the praise of the glory of his grace." Yet, certainly,—considering the allotment and the privileges, which, from one generation to another, the Lord has freely dealt out to them, among those that fear him,—it must be admitted, they have too generally, by no means, been that "willing people," which "the day of his power" would have made them,—a people "watching at his posts," waiting to hear his gracious will respecting them, and remembering his commandments *to do them*.—May the awful "song of the Beloved touching his vineyard," Isai. v. 50, &c. never be pronounced upon them!

But, breaking away from these musings, again to revert to the Memoirs of earlier times; and passing by all minor transactions relating to the Friends in the north of Scotland; there are now to be given a few brief sketches of individuals among them, some of whose names may be familiar to the reader, as frequently occurring in the foregoing history:—these, having kept the faith that is in Christ Jesus, and held out to the end in well-doing, were, we may believe, crowned with immortality and the joys of the blessed.

In the year 1723, died four of these associates in the warfare of life, Alexander Seaton, Robert Scott,

David Wallace, and Christian Barclay.—The first-mentioned, Alexander Seaton, was the son of John Seaton of the Seaton family of Meldrum, being born near Lethinty, in the shire of Aberdeen, about the year 1652. It will probably be recollected, he was one of those students of the University of Aberdeen, who joined the Society in consequence of being convinced of the scriptural rectitude of their principles, when they were publicly advocated by Robert Barclay and George Keith, against the sophistry of his fellow-collegians. The candid confession, which he published under his own signature, at the end of the account of this controversy, is not unworthy perusal in this place: it is as follows.—"I also declare, (who, being a student at that time in the Old Town College, was present at the dispute, and heard the same with attention,) that the students, in their account, have grossly belied the Quakers in many things. And although since that, it hath pleased God to join me unto that people, yet at that time I had no mind to be of their way. However, when I saw their account, I did approve it, as ingenuous, as now also I do; and disapprove the students', as false in many things.—Alexander Seaton."—While we are given to understand, that the bright example set before him in his relations, Alexander Forbes and wife, under whose roof he lodged while attending college, had *previously* had some favourable effect on his mind; yet, it is clear by the above language, he was by no means prepared to acknowledge the religious views of Friends, until after this public exposition of them had taken place.

Thus nobly beginning to confess Christ, the Truth, before men, while yet about 23 years of age, he grew and became established in Him, so that, cleaving to

His all-sufficient grace, the persecution and close imprisonment, which shortly after became his portion, only served to enlarge his experience of the power and goodness of God towards him. Being thrust into Aberdeen gaol, he was soon called upon, it is said, in rather a remarkable manner, publicly to give testimony by the word of exhortation, to *that* which had wrought so effectually in him. He is represented to have been a sincere and weighty man, of good understanding and solid judgment; a faithful, zealous, and sound minister of Jesus Christ; especially exemplary in humility and lowliness of mind, living in peace and unity with his friends, well esteemed likewise among his neighbours. He used daily to devote some part of his time to religious retirement; and, although a scholar, was not much known to be such in his public ministrations, valuing *that* learning but little in comparison of *the cross of Christ and the operation of his Holy Spirit.* After his marriage, from a sense of duty, he removed to Glasgow, where the few Friends in that city were undergoing some sharp trial, as well by abuses from the magistrates, as from the rude rabble. Here his faithfulness and constancy were further put to the test, and proved of considerable use, both in comforting and strengthening his friends, and in overcoming the malice of their enemies. At length in 1699, he settled with his family in Ireland; and it appears that his character and services were, in several respects, much appreciated by the Society in that land.

In the latter part of his life, after various exercises and labours in the gospel of his Redeemer, both in England, Scotland, and Ireland, he was visited with much bodily affliction. He bore all with remarkable patience, was attended with much sweetness in his

spirit, and before he left this world uttered these comfortable expressions.—On one occasion, his family being about him, he said, "Do not put off repentance and amendment of life until the time of a dying bed; for, commonly, it hath enough to do for itself. The Lord hath been very good to me, even from my youth, and hath followed me with his goodness, and never left me in the time of divers exercises:—his presence is near; and it is manifested to me, that when my departure comes, it shall be in peace. The Comforter is near, and will endure, [while these] afflictions will have an end." To some Friends, who came to see him—"I have partaken of the earnest of that joy, which will never have an end: my Rock, my Fortress, my strong Tower, dwelleth with me, and does not leave me nor forsake me; blessed be his name! I hope to be with him for ever,—and that is more than a thousand worlds. There is a mansion of glory prepared in my Father's house;—said Christ, 'There are many mansions; if it had not been so, I would have told you'—there has been a discovery of a mansion of glory!" Some Friends coming before meeting to visit him, he observed, "Job was hard put to it, and his friends were all mistaken, in that they did not believe, that the Lord did afflict man without a sinful cause." His wife persuading him to take something, lest he should faint, he cheerfully consented, saying, "Let me try to eat *one bit* with my friends;" but turning the case, added, "Christ said, Labour for the bread that perisheth not—but nourisheth up to eternal life.—Praises wait for the Lord in Zion: no trials, no afflictions, no temptations can obstruct his presence from the inhabitants thereof: 'praise is comely for the upright,' but becometh no wicked person."

Sometimes, being much pained with his disorder, he would say, "Lord! give me some ease, or take me to thyself. O Lord! give patience;—sustain and support me under these sharp afflictions: let the lifting up of my hands be as the evening sacrifice, acceptable unto thee! O Lord! thou art my Rock—the shadow of a mighty rock in a weary land. The Lord hath promised to be with his children through the region and shadow of death, and [to] bring them to a lasting eternity, where there is joy for evermore"—and then, turning to his wife, he applied the foregoing language to her, by very briefly intimating that, having such precious promises, she, in particular, had great occasion *to be content* under the divine appointments. At another season, having got some rest in sleep, he queried, "Why am I kept here? Let me go home—Lord! receive my spirit,—I recommend my soul [to thee]—receive me into thy everlasting kingdom and the mansion thou showedst me." A dear friend of his coming in, inquired how he was? to which he replied, "I would fain be gone; the Lord hath been very good to me, and led me through the cross to inherit the crown." Again, he addressed those about him—"The Lord hath been good to me from my childhood: he began to place his fear in my heart very early. The Lord never fails those who trust in him; he will be with them to death, and through death unto eternity. Fear God, and serve him; prefer his fear above all things, and he will provide for you." And further, to his wife, "My dear, the Lord is a Father to the fatherless, and a Husband to the widows that love and fear him; therefore be content and resigned to the will of the Lord." Some little time before his decease, several Friends who had been at meeting,

coming in to see him, after a season of silence, and one present had spoken a few words, Alexander, being very much broken into tears, said, "It is *the invisible power* that supports under affliction: Moses 'endured, as seeing him that is invisible.'" Several Friends belonging to Lurgan, Ballindery, and Lisburn meetings visiting him, in his extreme weakness, his wife asked him, if he knew them? he replied, "I do very well; but it is a trouble to me to speak: *but all is well, and will be everlastingly well.*"

His distemper was tedious, and at times exceedingly painful, but he was preserved in resignation to the last, and in great peace and quietness, yielded up his earthly being, it is concluded in exchange for an endless inheritance, on the 23rd of the 1st month, being about 71 years of age.

Robert Scott was convinced of the Truth, as held by this Christian people, at Montrose, the place of his nativity, where he several times suffered imprisonment; enduring his share of ill usage, which largely fell upon them in that town for their testimony and allegiance to the living God, who is ever worthy to be waited upon, worshipped, and adored! Afterward, he settled at Stonehaven: here, it is stated, that the public preachers, in like manner as at Montrose, began persecuting him, with a view of inducing him to remove away from the spot. But, by the judicious counsel of David Barclay, he was induced to stay, and to endeavour *to live down*, or wear out so very unworthy a disposition. This he most completely effected, by patient continuance in peaceable and upright conduct: for, betaking himself to merchandizing, by honest dealing and blameless conversation, his influence won upon his neighbours, and actually

prevailed even over his opposers, so that most of those called clergy round the country sent *to him* for goods; and the Lord blessed his endeavours with such success, that he was reckoned one of the best traders in the place. Yet was he not in any wise puffed up, but abode in humility, thankful to the Giver of every good gift, and often praising him for his mercies. He was a great lover of the assemblies of the Lord's children and people; often, in the throng of business, *leaving all* to attend the meetings held in the middle of the week, and would frequently remark, *that he never lost, but often gained by this practice*, saying, *these meetings were made to him the best of any.* After his wife's death, advancing in years, he wisely retired from business; and his only son also dying, he was kindly cared for by a daughter-in-law to the end of his days. Thus freed from anxiety about the things of time, he was often giving glory and praise to the Lord, who had bountifully provided for him, and had graciously afforded him both ease and also contentment in his old age; so that he had now nothing to do, but to make up his accounts with his heavenly Master. In this, the first business of his life, he was very diligent: often, in his closet, three times a day, would he pour forth his prayer to the Almighty; and a living power attended these ministrations, whether more privately or in the public gatherings. At length, about the 75th year of his age, feeling exceedingly bound to this blessed privilege, and now, on account of bodily infirmity, no longer able to meet his friends in their usual place of resort, he begged they would come and sit down with him in his own apartment; which request was readily acceded to, and the practice continued for a month previous to his removal. Indeed, it so occurred, that

one of these solemn opportunities of worship, was held in his chamber only two hours before he expired, on the 31st of the 3rd month; when he was so filled with the power and presence of the Lord, that, with a clear and audible voice, he presented his supplications unto Him who had been with him all his life long, greatly to the tendering of the hearts of those present, both Friends and others. After which, in a fervent manner, he several times recommended his own soul to God, *desiring him to finish that great work of gathering his soul; for he could do nothing, but "stand still and see" or "wait for his salvation."* Then, with clasped hands and uplifted eyes, calling upon the Lord to take his spirit to himself, he yielded it up to Him who gave it.

David Wallace was also of Stonehaven, being born in the year 1660 of honest parents; his father was a farmer in the parish of Arbuthnot, some miles from thence. When he was about 18 years of age, he began to think upon true religion; and there being about that time some young men in the neighbourhood, who struck off from the national way of worship, and assorted with the people called Quakers, he came to be much in conversation with them. And as they discoursed upon the things that belong to life and salvation, he was often satisfied in their company, and at length went with them to one of their meetings, which gave him some comfort. A Friend in the ministry afterward visiting Ury, he was also inclined to be at that meeting, where his mind was thoroughly reached by the power of the Lord, and he became persuaded *these* were the people with whom he could have fellowship, and that *this* was for him the pathway to peace. On his return home that night, he appeared to his parents to be a *changed man;* but they

were mightily troubled at the circumstance. David Wallace had his companions in this straight and narrow way of self-denial, though few of them faithfully stood their ground in it, being turned aside by the fear of man, or the love of this present world. Among these few, was his brother, and especially one David Donaldson, of Allardice. They met with opposition and difficulties of various kinds, from both "professors and profane," as also from their own near relatives: this occasioned them many and heavy exercises; but through all, the Lord supported and strengthened them by his Divine presence, his arm being extended for their help, when refuge failed, so that they were borne above all storms and threatenings. David Wallace, in particular, came forward steadily, in all things standing by that cause, which he had thus conscientiously taken up. Endued with good abilities, he had also a deep judgment in spiritual things, and his memory in Scripture was so remarkable, that he was termed by some, *the Concordance*, being commonly able to give chapter and verse to most passages. In the place where he lived, Stonehaven, he was a useful character among his neighbours in their town concerns; but towards the church to which he belonged, he was serviceable in many respects, loving to help forward on their way travelling ministers, and on some occasions accompanying them for a considerable time together, far distant from his own home. In his last illness, he signified, that his peace was made with the Lord, and that he had finished his day's work; admonishing those who came to see him, to be obedient to God in their day,—that he was now ready to be dissolved, and longed to be with his dear Saviour; to whom, at times, he would pray fervently, that He would be

pleased to be with him through the untrodden valley of death;—"yet," added he, "I will fear no evil, for the Lord will be with me." In this happy state of mind, resigning his own soul, also his wife and children to the care and protection of the Almighty, he quietly passed away, on the 4th of the 6th month, being 63 years of age.

Of the next individual, Christian Barclay, no additional particulars have come to hand, beyond the instructive document, which was issued after her decease, by those who could best estimate the value of her character. An abstract of the principal parts of it, are here subjoined.—Her mind was remarkably turned to religious considerations from her youth, publicly embracing the testimony of Truth, in the love of it, about the 16th year of her age, and that, *through many hardships and sufferings;* in this path she all along steadfastly trod, giving evidence both by doctrine, and by an example becoming the gospel, of her great concern for its prosperity. She was a well-accomplished woman every way, and of singular virtues; grave and weighty in conversation, "diligent in business," as well as "fervent in spirit;" and therein "serving the Lord," he was pleased to afford her many precious seasons of refreshment, wherein she was enabled livingly to testify of his dealings to the children of men, being plentifully attended with his love and power, to the great joy and comfort of the faithful; and to the praise of Him, who hath so gloriously revealed himself in this latter age. In the same love for her fellow-creatures, she laid herself out to assist and give advice to sick people; especially the poor, whose necessities she freely supplied. Many of her patients would come ten, twenty, thirty, and some even forty miles and upwards; receiving

through her care and skill very considerable benefit, for her success was wonderful; so that, among these classes, much lamentation prevailed on account of her removal. Her great and daily concern for the preservation and advancement of her family, in those things that are most worthy and excellent, has been before adverted to, as well as for the welfare of the youth in general, who came under her notice. The bright influence of her example had great effect upon her children and grandchildren, eight or ten of whom she usually had at a time under her roof; and she was permitted to see the Divine approbation and blessing, remarkably crown her endeavours on their behalf. But her efforts and exercises, not confined here, were directed *for the good of all;* especially for the church—that no slackness or unconcern might be entertained, and that every one professing Christ, might use all diligence to make their calling and election sure. During her last illness, many were her pious expressions, all tending to the same purpose,—for sickness altered not her frame of spirit; the earnest, unabated desire prevailing with her to the last, that in life and in death, she might be a faithful servant of the Lord. At length she yielded up her spirit in great peace, joy, and quietness, on the 14th of the 12th month, having outlived her husband 32 years, and being herself in the 76th year of her age.

Respecting the family left by this "mother in Israel," there has already been some promising and rather unusually hopeful circumstances recorded. That they were favoured to hold on their way, in the line so highly recommended to them by the piety, the prayers, and spiritual nurture of their parents, there is no cause to doubt: but the information which might have cleared up this point, is, with re-

gard to some of these children, defective. They were seven in number. Christian, one of the daughters, treading in the footsteps of her mother, was valued as a faithful labourer in the gospel field. She was married in 1699 to Alexander Jaffray, son of Andrew Jaffray; and her decease took place as late as the year 1751; after a long life spent, according to the representation of survivors, "from early youth to her latest moments," in sincere dedication to the path of duty. The three other daughters were married into the Forbes family of Aquorthies; while two of the sons, David and John, settled, the one in London and the other in Dublin. Robert, the eldest, succeeded to the estate of Ury, which is still in the family:— and he succeeded also, as we have already seen, to the spiritual heritage of those that fear the Lord, through acceptance of "the spirit of adoption," whereby the children of all true believers may become the children of God. Besides his journey to the Highlands, he travelled several times, in the line of ministry, to London and other parts of England and Scotland; was zealous in propagating that which he believed to be the Truth of the gospel, amongst his Friends and others; charitable to the poor, humble and meek in his deportment, benevolent to all. He also wrote one or two small treatises. About two years before his removal by death, which took place in 1747, on the completion of his 75th year, he contracted much weakness of body; which, however, did not prevent him from being diligent in attending religious meetings in the neighbourhood. In a submissive state of mind, he waited his last change; and when much afflicted by disease, used to say, "Not my will, but the Lord's be done in every thing." And, a short time before he became speechless, one

standing by his bed-side, thinking he did not hear, whispered to another, that she was surprised to perceive such a sweat upon him; on which he answered with a strong voice, "This is the sweat which comes before death—and I shall now soon be among the spirits of just men made perfect." Shortly afterward he, as it were, slept away, expiring at his house of Springhall, near Ury; and giving ample proof, to the last, that he had been made partaker of those highly spiritual views of the gospel dispensation, which the Society of Friends have been called to uphold; the consistency of which standard, has been of late, in several respects, increasingly acknowledged by most other Christian communities.

CHAPTER XIX.

1726: SKETCH OF ANDREW JAFFRAY'S LIFE, DEATH, AND CHARACTER, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS FAMILY.

The Jaffrays have been prominent throughout the greater part of this volume. As the *first* portion of it was wholly devoted to the religious experience of *one of that family*, who became the foremost in the north of Scotland to show himself a convert to the opinions of the Friends; so has their name been conspicuous in the *present* division of the work,—holding no unimportant position amongst their associates of this persuasion. For no sooner had the memoirs of Alexander Jaffray been pursued to a conclusion, than we find *his son Andrew*, deliberately attaching himself to the same stock of Christian reformers; and proving, through a long life of dedication, the sincerity of his views. And now, that the reader is about to quit these historical collections, there are yet to be submitted to his attention a few summary particulars concerning the life and latter end of this individual,—*the last of that generation of worthies*, whose memory deserves to be held up to a succeeding age.

Andrew Jaffray, from his earliest years, was one, on whose behalf ascended the continual incense of parental prayer. This, the Diary of his father gives full warrant for asserting, if the general character and profession of both parents is not alone sufficient to prove it. He was also permitted the inestimable privilege of their counsel, example, and care, up to the period

when he became of age; shortly after which, and within a very short interval, it may be remembered, he was by death deprived of both of them. They seemed, indeed, at their departure, to have set a broad seal of recommendation, not likely soon to be effaced from the mind of their son, in favour of those gospel views, which they themselves had so firmly embraced. Of Andrew, it is recorded, that in his very youthful days he was reached unto by the power of God; so that, many times, in secret places, he would be broken into mourning and tears before him; being attended with a fear, lest he should be utterly cast off from the Divine presence and favour. Yet afterward, this good concern and working of the Holy Spirit upon his heart was considerably withdrawn, by giving way to youthful vanity, and his own desires and devices; although at times, on these accounts, still pursued with strong convictions, as well as wonderfully preserved by merciful interposition from the more gross outbreakings of evil. When arrived at about the 24th year of his age, the Lord once more condescended effectually to visit him, and to awaken him to a deep sense of his miserable condition while in a state of nature. Submitting to those righteous judgments, which lay heavily upon him for sin and transgression, he became as a tender penitent, prostrated before the all-seeing and holy God, being made altogether willing to undergo the secret but effectual operation of the heavenly leaven within him. Thus, in due season, was he given to know in his measure, the fulfilment of that Scripture passage, which the Apostle applies to some believers in his day, "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." 1 Cor. vi. 11.

At length he was called upon by Christ, who had become his Saviour, his Leader, and his Light, to proclaim unto others that grace by which we must be saved, and of which he had so richly partaken. His father had given him a liberal education; but when brought to behold the simplicity and beauty of the Truth as it is in Jesus, we are told, that he quickly came to esteem all learning but as dross and dung, compared with the learning and knowing Jesus Christ according to his second or spiritual coming in the soul, and a being hereby purified from all dead works to serve the living God. For this appeared to him to be one end and purpose of His coming in the flesh, that he might put an end to sin, finish transgression, and bring in everlasting righteousness. In the promulgation of such glad tidings, he soon became a zealous, faithful, and able minister; for his heart was freely given up to labour, as well for the convincement of those who were scattered upon the barren mountains of an empty profession, as for the confirmation of such as were acquainted with the things of God's kingdom. His utterance is represented as clear, full, and penetrating; in doctrine and argument he was sound, bold, and perspicuous; on many occasions to the confusion and defeat of those who undertook to oppose his testimony, which was often levelled with great power against *all description of will-worship, and a spurious or man-made ministry.* Yet in his demeanour, there was remarkable humility manifested, being always disposed to esteem others better than himself, though a great despiser of the honour, riches, and vain glory of this world. He was eminently led forth as an instrument on various public occasions; and had a peculiar talent in visiting the sick, but especially the distressed of every rank, pro-

fession, and character within his reach—and with great acceptance; "many," as his friend Robert Barclay *the younger* observes, "bearing grateful remembrance of his love and service, and of the strength and efficacy that attended his ministry of consolation." For, he was a man who, through life, had travelled much in the track of the "weary and heavy laden," having had in his own experience to pass through many deep and bitter exercises of spirit, with manifold temptations of the enemy. This kept him in a fresh and humble condition, and in great tenderness towards others; always admiring the boundless mercy and long-suffering of God, who, through all, had preserved him from fainting and showed him favour, —raising him over all, to bless his holy name!

It is not needful here to specify the cheerfulness and alacrity, with which he underwent any hardship that might befall him, in those services to which he believed himself called; his sufferings for conscience sake having been amply testified of in the course of this publication. He was a very useful man among his neighbours, endeavouring to serve the interests of vital godliness, to disseminate the true faith of Christ, and to follow peace with all men. Among his friends, he was a pattern of good works and of gospel order; one who tenderly cherished whatever in religion savoured of that heavenly Life, without which all observances are vain; at the same time, strenuous and unyielding in his opposition to that which he fully believed *gendered to bondage* and spiritual death.

Andrew Jaffray travelled in the work of the ministry in various parts of his native country, and in England; once, in the year 1698, being accompanied by his daughter Margaret, who, like some females of old, *laboured with him in the gospel.* Phil. iv. 3.

She also, two years afterward, undertook a journey on the like errand of love both to England and Ireland, being then but a young woman. Her friends describe her to have been a worthy and zealous preacher of righteousness, as well in life and conversation as in word and doctrine. On one occasion, she addressed the inhabitants of Aberdeen with a paper, on the subject of an appointed fast which had been then recently kept; the danger of hypocrisy and formality in such stated observations, no doubt had strongly affected her serious and feeling mind.—Another circumstance, it will be proper to notice respecting this individual, before resuming the account of her father.

Among the *Excerpts* from the Register of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, as given in a History of that place, the following appears among the remarkable events:—"1698. 17th February.—Last sabbath, at Newhills, Margaret Jaffray, daughter of Andrew Jaffray of Kingswells, coming with other Quakers, entered the church, and cried, 'Do not believe that deceiver, &c.'"—The Author did not think himself at liberty to omit the insertion of this record; for unquestionably, Andrew Jaffray, as well as his daughter, with Robert Barclay *the Apologist*, and many other ministers among the early Friends, several times took their share in such very humiliating line of testimony.

In several publications relating to these times, some of them of late years brought before the public, statements somewhat similar have been made; without being accompanied by any explanation of the attendant circumstances, under which such extraordinary conduct took place. It would be surely better for the interests of religion *in general*, that facts so peculiar

in their nature were not revived at all, than that they should be exhibited in an inadequate and unsatisfactory manner. Otherwise, there is reason to apprehend, the "*obnoxious*" practice simply considered, will not have by any means excited that contempt and prejudice against the sacred cause, which the *recital* of the fact is likely to do. The enemies of the cross of Christ are thus, perhaps unintentionally, strengthened; whereas, had these themselves witnessed the whole transaction, and known the situation of the parties concerned, it is not improbable,—nay, *it has happened*, that some present on such occasions, have been so impressed with the scene, as actually to have protected the poor individual from the insults of those, who should have been examples to others. The undistinguishing outcry of enthusiasm and fanaticism has not ceased; but is from time to time still poured upon the more deeply exercised votaries of the Lamb. Let us not forget,—*He* was a man of sorrows, whose visage was more marred than that of any man, despised and rejected, so that many hid as it were their faces from him;—and it is to be feared, that thus his followers and little ones are oftentimes treated. When we view a set of men, upright, sincere, and consistent in all their actions, of a sober and sound mind, studying to be quiet and to do their own business; when we see such as these, fervent also in spirit, serving the Lord in much simplicity, the zeal of whose house hath, to appearance, eaten them up—and this, not merely for selfish ends or to obtain popularity, not to preach only *the name* of Christ and the forms of godliness, but likewise *his transforming power*;—should we not pause?—should we not endeavour to discriminate, and look to the bottom of their motives, who are so raised above the variable and ambiguous rules

of refinement and of custom, in the desire to clear their own consciences of the blood of their brethren, as in the sight of that Searcher of hearts, whose ways are higher than our ways and his thoughts than our thoughts? Do we see nothing in their *unmannerly protest*, in any respect analogous (however distant and feeble the analogy must be,) to that procedure of the lowly and holy Jesus, when he went into the temple of God, and so severely expostulated with those who had appropriated the solemn occasion of Divine service to the purposes of merchandize? Or can we imagine nothing in *our own* practice, approaching to the conduct of those, who, when Paul and Barnabas had given proof of their mission, according to that which was committed to them, blasphemously though ignorantly cried out, "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men"? And, were thoughts in any degree resembling these to steal over us, should we brand with enthusiasm the sudden impulse of godly jealousy, which might urge a Paul or a Barnabas to run in between us and *our impious sacrifices to the shrine of men?*—Not that by this train of reasoning, it is to be understood, that a religious community must be responsible for every wild act of intemperate pretenders to a Divine and Scriptural commission. "Believe not every spirit," said the Apostle, "but try the spirits, whether they are of God," 1 John, iv. 1. And if it be asked, *How?* Hear the Master himself:—"He that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God." John iii. 21.

In addition to the above observations, those of the judicious and candid historian of this Society, Sewell, may here be properly brought in upon the same subject.—"Perhaps some will think it was very indecent,

that they went so frequently to the steeple-houses, and there spoke to the priests. But whatsoever any may judge concerning this, it is certain that those teachers generally did not bring forth the fruits of godliness, *as was well known to those who themselves had been priests*, and freely resigned their ministry, thenceforth to follow Christ in the way of his cross; and *these were none of the least zealous against that Society, among whom they formerly had ministered with an upright zeal.* Yet they were not for using sharp language against such teachers, who according to their knowledge feared God; but they levelled their aim chiefly against those who were only rich in words, without bringing forth true Christian fruits, and works of justice." Sewell's History, vol. i. p. 128.

Having thus adverted to one of the daughters of Andrew Jaffray, this will be the most fit place to introduce a brief but precious memorial of another, Lilias, who was so named in remembrance of her honoured grandmother, Lilias Skene. The Friends in Aberdeen and the neighbourhood, in their united capacity, were induced to convey their genuine unsophisticated feeling, upon occasion of her death, by a simple record of her worth. This they did, not with any view of puffing up the vain mind in youth or others; but as an encouragement to survivors of every class, to aim at, wrestle for, and breathe after that purity of heart, which the filial fear of our beneficent and heavenly Father will not fail to bring forth. Her example, thus held up, is an illustration of the force and value of Solomon's beautiful language:—"The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom—get wisdom, get understanding—forsake her not, and she shall preserve thee; love her, and she shall keep thee—exalt her, and she shall promote thee—she shall

give to thine head an ornament of grace; a crown of glory shall she deliver to thee."

"Upon the 1st of the 4th month, 1694, it pleased the Lord to remove out of the body a dear young plant, Lilias Jaffray, eldest daughter to Andrew Jaffray, being near 20 years of age; who, as she was of a very loving, sweet, innocent nature from her infancy, had also drank in a tender, sweet love to the Truth and to Friends, being beloved of all, both Friends and other people, that ever knew her. She was exceeding subject and obedient to her parents in the Lord; so she laid down her body in a sensible feeling of God's love and favour, and unity of Friends, the said day, a little before one in the morning. Her body was buried in her father's burial-ground at Kingswells, upon the 3d day of the said month, being a 1st day, after a good meeting and good service at the burial-place."

After this servant of the Lord, her father, had been honoured by bearing witness, for upwards of fifty years, to the excellency of the saving and spiritual knowledge of Christ Jesus, having had his conversation in the world in much simplicity and godly sincerity, "not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God,"—he was cast upon the bed of sickness, and seemed not likely again to be restored to the church. During that dispensation, a calumnious report was industriously propagated in Aberdeen, that he totally denied those principles, which he had so long and so nobly defended. This circumstance, as he subsequently acknowledged, in a writing dictated by himself, and signed only two days before his death, "made me, after my last great sickness, the more willing to be restored, in subjection to the will of God;——and I am made willing, though some years

after, to leave this testimony,—whatever evil men or others may say against me,—that if it be the Lord's will to remove me at this time, I die in unity with the Friends of Truth." Though favoured with some degree of returning health, the pressure of natural infirmity was latterly very heavy upon him; yet was he again and again strengthened publicly to advocate the gospel of the free and unmerited grace of God; for, even up to the last day before he took to his chamber, he exhorted and commended his friends to cleave to it. When confined to the bed for some months, under much bodily weakness, distress, and conflict, not without the buffetings of Satan,—the energies of the outward man gradually decaying,—he experienced the frequent rekindling of his desires and hopes heavenward; and was often engaged in a lively, clear strain, to set forth his admiring sense of the Lord's goodness towards his soul. He breathed his last on the 1st of the 2nd month, 1726, in great peace, and full assurance of an everlasting portion among the followers of the Lamb; his remains being interred in his own burial-ground on the family estate of Kingswells.

In the paper above referred to, taken down so shortly previous to his removal, he thus alludes to the memorable outpouring of the Holy Spirit, of which he and others were made partakers, during the time of their long imprisonment at Aberdeen.—"Oh! the unutterable glory, that brake forth and spread even in this country, wherein God Almighty raised up some mean instruments, as well as some more honourable, and myself among others, though very unworthy! And when thirty or forty of our ancient Friends were shut up in prison, I cannot but remember this particular instance; that when we were all

met in the low Tolbooth, and not a word had been spoken among us, either in prayer or preaching,—we breathing in our hearts for power to do the Lord's will;—his power at last brake in among us in a wonderful manner, to the melting and tendering our hearts. And though I was kept very empty a long time, yet at last the glorious power of God broke over the whole meeting, and upon me also, and ravished my heart,—yea, did appear as a ray of divine glory, to the ravishing of my soul, and all the living ones in the meeting. So that some of those that were in the town-council above us, confessed to some of our number with tears, that the breaking in of that power, even among *them*, made them say one to another, 'O! how astonishing it is, that our ministers should say, *the Quakers have no psalms in their meetings;* for such an heavenly sound we never heard in either old or new church.' After this, our meetings were often filled with heavenly, divine comfort, to the satisfaction of our souls, and we were often overcome with the love of our God, and many innumerable instances of his miraculous power attended us; *many of which are recorded in a book for posterity to come.* And God will tread down Satan under the feet of his power in due time, let him rage as he will."

CHAPTER XX.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN THE PRESENT DAY, OCCASIONED BY THE FOREGOING HISTORY, AND THE ANTICIPATIONS OF THEIR PREDECESSORS.

At the opening of these Memoirs, the travels of George Fox in Scotland, in the year 1657, were briefly adverted to. After describing, in his Journal, the last meeting he had, previous to his return to England, this extraordinary comment upon his visit occurs.—"The truth and the power of God was set over that nation; and many, by the power and Spirit of God, were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and Teacher, whose blood was shed for them: and there is since a great increase,—*and great there will be in Scotland, though the time may be far distant at present.* For when first I set my horse's feet upon Scottish ground, I felt the seed of God to sparkle about me, as innumerable sparks of fire. Not but that there is abundance of thick, cloddy earth of hypocrisy and falseness atop, and a briary, brambly nature, which is to be burned up with God's word, and ploughed up with his spiritual plough, *before God's seed brings forth heavenly and spiritual fruit to his glory.* But the husbandman is *to wait in patience.*"

Whether those readers, who may be inclined to lay some stress upon such anticipation, can see any thing like the fulfilment of it, at least in part, in the foregoing history, must be left with each individual to

decide for himself. Certainly, it is due to the subject to state, that George Fox was not the only one, who deliberately avowed his views, as to the more extensive reception, through that district, of a standard of truth and righteousness, such as is upheld by the Society of Friends. William Dewsbury's letter, at page 311 of this volume, plainly and strongly intimates his expectations on the same point; while one from William Penn to these persecuted people, p. 377, will bear no very different construction. In 1677, George Fox again declares his belief, that "the Lord hath a great seed and work in that country." See p. 405. Andrew Jaffray also, a sketch of whose character and close formed the principal subject of the last preceding chapter, was another who entertained similar impressions. In the testimony respecting him, before cited, and which, it will be recollected, was drawn up by the son of "the Apologist," these following expressions are made use of. "There are several remarkable instances of his having, upon occasion, had the gift of prophecy;—which strengthens the desire and hope the Lord hath raised *in several*, in that [respect, in which] he was very positive, namely,—*that the Lord would yet again visit this land, to the gathering of many to condemn the world, its wisdom, and ways.*"—Beside these, John Gratton, whose visit to his fellow-professors in Scotland has been already described, closes his narrative with this encouraging estimate of the prospects, as well as actual condition of religious classes of the people at large:—"*I hope and believe, the Lord will have a great people there, in time to come;* though the enemy be angry, and would hinder the spreading of the holy Truth;——yet, his weapons are but carnal, silly, and weak. I desire many Friends

may think of that nation, and, in the will of God, give up to visit it; for, there is a zealous, professing people, that, were they but brought to the knowledge of Truth—I believe there are many, yea, very many, who would be zealous for it." See his Journal, edit. 1823, p. 115. This was about the year 1694.

Doubtless, such expectations were not unreasonable; they were never entertained, neither were such declared assurances ever given forth, by any true messengers of the Lord, without at least an *implied* reference to those qualifying conditions, which must ever attend the distribution of the tokens of Divine favour towards any people.

But, in order somewhat further to clear up, at least so far as the Author may be enabled, a subject deeply involving, to a certain extent, the all-important interests of true religion,—namely, the condition and prospects of that small portion of the Christian community, whose history has now been brought to a conclusion; it is needful to indulge him with a little latitude, while he attempts to relieve his mind as regards such a people, by some remarks more especially applicable to them.

It has been abundantly, explicitly, and publicly avowed by the early members of the Society of Friends, that they did believe themselves raised up by the power of God, to manifest forth "THE TRUTH as it is in Jesus;" being assured, that, in various essential points and symptoms, the professing Christians of their day, had greatly fallen short of so purely spiritual a standard. It was also their belief, that if they sustained in faithfulness this testimony committed to them, others would in due season be constrained to acknowledge its excellence, and gather unto it. Accordingly, as long as they followed in

simplicity their Leader and Light, obeying *unreservedly* that power in which their faith stood, wonderful, even in the face of all opposition, were the effects of their example and ministry. But, when they or their successors *in any wise* withdrew their necks from the yoke of Christ, allowing any thing to stand in competition with his will concerning them, and so declining to cleave unto the Lord *with full purpose of heart;* he hid his face from them, and veiled that glory, which had indeed been a wall of defence about them, on the right hand and on the left. Thus, in proportion as they have at any time cast away the shield of faith in this Divine, inward power, whereby their predecessors measurably obtained victory over the things of a present world; the enemy by little and little has prevailed, so as, in some respects, to reduce them to a comparatively feeble and defective condition. Meanwhile, among the different persuasions of Protestants in these nations, there have been those, who, occupying with what has been made known to them of Divine light and truth, have grown stronger and stronger in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. These have been given to see and to maintain some of those very principles and practices, with which the people called Quakers, almost singly and alone, seemed aforetime to have been intrusted. Thus, in the present day, the sentiments held by others of the pious, dedicated servants of God, beside the Friends, have undergone a considerable, though gradual amelioration; *the standard of Truth has been more purely exalted through them,* although their respective popular creeds and ceremonial usages, may remain much as they were in former times; they are pressing into the marrow and pith of true religion,—*the life of Jesus inwardly revealed.* So that, as might be expected,

many such are actually, at this day, approving and accepting those very decrees, and ordinances, and testimonies, which the Spirit of Christ, the Truth, led *our* forefathers to adopt or observe;—and which testimonies, nevertheless, are even now, by our own professed friends, oftentimes let fall in our streets, and in some danger of being trampled under foot.

What wonder, then, that this precious discovery of spiritual doctrine and practice, did not prevail among the nations, in that manner and to the full extent, which we may imagine the primitive Friends expected? Yea, rather, is there not cause of wonder, that it should have been *thus far* admired and owned by others, so palpable occasion of stumbling having been, from one generation to another, administered within our own borders? And how would it have flourished in the earth, had this people more generally *abode in the Vine of Life*, as the true spiritual Israel ever do! The Lord would have kept these fruitful branches, as his Prophet declares, "night and day,"—he would have watered them "every moment:" then also, his ancient promise, in the succeeding verses, would have been amply realized—"He shall cause them that come of Jacob to take root: Israel shall blossom and bud, *and fill the face of the earth with fruit.*" Isai. xxvii. 3, 6. But, still more is the infinite long-suffering and unsearchable forbearance of the Almighty to be adored, that such a people as this, should not have been even utterly "cut short" and forsaken; according to those memorable denunciations and threats made use of in Holy Scripture against outward Israel, a backsliding and rebellious generation,—according, also, to those prophetic warnings, which from time to time, and of late, even year by year, have gone forth from the lips of chosen vessels in the midst of our public assemblies.

Truly, "it is of the Lord's mercies [that] we," whose responsibilities have been so great, "are not consumed!"

Congenial with the above views of the justice and mercy of the Most High, is the pathetic language adopted by one of such faithful gospel ministers, who, in comparatively recent times, visited the Friends in Scotland, from the continent of America. "Although," says J. Churchman, "the descendants and children of Friends, who were as *bright stars* in their day, may value themselves on the worthiness of their parents; yet, if they do not love and serve the God of their fathers with a perfect heart and an upright mind, he will not own them with his heavenly presence, but they will be as *unsavoury salt.*" See his Journal, Philad. edit. 1818, p. 129. Again, another dedicated minister, Richard Jordan, leaves this feeling remark on record.—"Oh! may the lives and testimonies of those eminent instruments and faithful servants of God in their day, *like the blood of righteous Abel*, though dead, yet continue so to speak to after generations, and to their own posterity in particular, that they may be stirred up *to follow them as they followed Christ.*" And a little further on, he thus speaks of the state of the people more at large. "I may now remark, that in passing along through Scotland, it has not felt so dark and distressing to my mind, as in many other places. It has seemed to me, that there are many precious souls, who are secretly inquiring the way to the Zion of rest; but,—oh! for those pastors and teachers, who keep them, as it were, in the outward court, and instruct them to look for this rest in something *without them*, even in their ceremonies and ordinances. But how can it be otherwise, when *they themselves* have come no further; but are still framing ordinances out of the Scriptures,

without the Spirit, and without the Life. Oh! what running to and fro, to find this rest, what divisions in their churches, so called;—yea, divisions and subdivisions; and none seem to be yet settled. How my soul felt for them; and *I was not a little confirmed in my mind, that a door would be opened,* yea, *was already opened,* for the true messengers of the gospel to labour profitably in that country; if they do but travail deep enough in the Spirit and Life,—which, it is the earnest solicitude of my soul, may be the case there, and wherever it may please the Lord to send them."

Thus, can we not, who belong to so highly favoured a church, most plainly perceive, that it is disobedience and distrust, (the one being very intimately connected with the other,) that draw down the Divine displeasure upon a people; in accordance with that exhortation of the Prophet in the name of his God, Jer. vii. 23.—"*Obey my voice,*" and then, continues he, "I will be your God, and ye shall be *my people*"—not else. And saith the Apostle Paul, "Towards thee," that is, *the called of the Lord,* "goodness; if thou *continue in his goodness,* otherwise *thou also* shalt be cut off." Rom. xi. 22; and again, another Apostle utters this awful inquiry, "What shall the end be of those that *obey not* the gospel of God?" 1 Peter, iv. 17.

The Society of Friends, certainly, never countenanced the idea among its professed members or adherents,—as a modern writer on Ecclesiastical History and Nonconformity seems to intimate,—that any of us *should think within ourselves,* "*We have Abraham to our father.*" The strain of exhortation may, indeed, not unfrequently be heard among us, "Look unto Abraham your father, and Sarah that bare you"—"walk in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham"—*follow such* as have themselves truly *followed Christ,* have drank of that Rock, and

found it to be *in them "a well of water springing up into everlasting life."*

Ah! may a consideration of what the Lord hath wrought for the predecessors of this people, duly affect the minds of those, who, in a certain sense, have *taken up their mantle,*—who have been made sensible what constituted the clothing of their spirits, even the garments of righteousness, salvation, and praise! May they often meditate upon the honourable place, which has been obtained for them in the estimation of other disciples of a crucified Saviour, even through a sea of troubles, "a fight of afflictions!" May they correctly appreciate the value of that description of inheritance, in some sort procured unto them through the sufferings and exercises of those, who, like Caleb and Joshua, have led the way to a land of spiritual rest and plenty! may they be encouraged to go into this good land and possess it,—more richly, more fully, more availingly inherit it, to the health of their own souls, and to the help of all with whom they have to do! May those also of a younger generation, like Timothy of old, *keep that good thing committed to them,* by the Holy Spirit; then the promises and prophecies, which may have gone before on such, will be revived, confirmed, and applied in their experience; and the faith which was *in their forefathers* will also, doubtless, *dwell in them.* In this way, is it not to be confidently, yet humbly expected, that such will be "blessed of the Lord, and *their* offspring with them," that He will delight to *increase* such *more and more, they and their children;* so that, *instead of the fathers, will,* in due season, *be the children,* standing in their allotment and sharing in their privileges. For "the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto

children's children; to such as keep his covenant, and to those that remember his commandments to do them." Psal. ciii. 17, 18.

In contemplating the foregoing memorials of a Christian community, so remarkably separated unto the Lord, through reception of the Truth of Christ, and sanctification of the spirit thereby:—"strengthened," also, as they were, in proportion to their need, "with all might, according to his glorious power, unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness,"—will there not an acknowledgment be raised, in the breast of every one that knows and loves the appearing of Jesus Christ, that *such a work must be of God and not of man.* And if we are prepared to admit, it was, *in their case,* by the effectual operation of his power and grace upon their hearts, that such a work was thus commenced, carried on, and completed to his own praise; shall we not, in like manner, be ready to believe, that *thus,* in *our* line and measure, he is willing to do *for us of the present day,* as well as for *every generation* of those, who shall desire above all things to "wait for his salvation," who shall be "looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." Assuredly, "the promise" is *unto us and unto our "children,* and unto all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call:"—for, "God is faithful, by whom ye are called unto the fellowship of his Son." 1 Cor. i. 9.

There may be those readers, who belong to the Society of Friends, as there may be also other dedicated, but discouraged minds, who, in taking a survey of the Lord's marvellous dealings with those who have preceded them, and in reflecting on the manifold weaknesses which attend and surround them, may be oftentimes inclined to take up the mournful expressions of the Psalmist, Psal. lxxvii. 5.—

"I have considered the days of old, the years of ancient times. I call to remembrance my song in the night: I commune with mine own heart: and my spirit made diligent search. Will the Lord cast off for ever? and will he be favourable no more? Is his mercy clean gone for ever? doth his promise fail for evermore? Hath the Lord forgotten to be gracious? hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies? Selah. And I said, This is my infirmity: but I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most High. I will remember the works of the Lord: surely, I will remember thy wonders of old. I will meditate also of all thy work, and talk of thy doings."

But, "Behold," said the evangelical Prophet, "the Lord's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save, neither his ear grown heavy, that it cannot hear"—and, for the cry of the poor and the sighing of the needy, he yet continues to arise, having mercy upon Zion, and comforting all her waste places; so that the confession is still known to break forth, season after season, from prepared hearts,—in the language of the blessed Virgin,—"He hath showed strength with his arm—his mercy is on them that fear him from generation to generation."

Wonderful, indeed, in every age, are the dealings of the Shepherd of Israel towards those under every name, who are the sheep of his hand! Wherever scattered, or wherever gathered, truly they have "a goodly heritage," as well as "exceeding great and precious promises;" and, however these provided blessings may seem for a time to fall short of fulfilment, yet are they all *in progress*, yet are they all steadfast and sure to His seed and church,—to those who cleave unto Him in dependence and submission of soul. A mark is said to be set upon those *who sigh and cry*,—who, *waiting*, *mourn* for the accom-

plishment of these heavenly promises, in the further development, purification, and glory of Zion :—*their borders will be enlarged,* saith the Lord God! See Isai. liv. 2, 3, 6, and 11; also Jer. xxx. 15 to 19. "For, yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry;" he will, in due season, more fully and more unequivocally acknowledge his holy work and people, all the world over, even those that are endeavouring, however feebly, to acknowledge him in their ways. The declaration hath gone forth—"Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion; for the time to favour her, yea, the set time, is come," Psal. cii. 13; and verse 16,—"When the Lord shall build up Zion, he will appear in his glory." And again, it is affirmed by the Prophet, that he will beautify the place of his sanctuary, and will make the place of his feet glorious. Isai. lx. 13.

Thus, the tribulated followers of the Lamb, however burdened with a sense of the present triumphing of their enemies, however bowed down in spirit when given to see the state of things around them,—if they can adopt that language of appeal uttered by the servant of God in ancient days, Isai. xxvi. 8, "*In the way of thy judgments, O Lord! have we waited for thee; the desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee;*"—even all such, may undoubtedly look forward with confidence to the completion of what is written,—"Yet a very little while, and the indignation shall cease, and mine anger in their destruction." "The rebuke of his people, shall he take away from off all the earth;" and "it shall be said in that day, *Lo! this is our God; we have waited for him, and he will save us, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation.*" Isai. xxv. 9.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

ON THE STATE OF THE CHURCH AT LARGE, WITH REFERENCE TO THE SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF HER REFORMATION, AND OCCASIONED BY A VIEW OF THAT SHARE AND INTEREST, WHICH THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS HAVE EVER TAKEN THEREIN.

THE Author of these Memoirs, having now finished the task he ventured to take in hand, or rather that allotment of labour which seemed to devolve upon him, apprehends there is yet a duty he owes, not only to his subject but to the reader,—to take his leave of both, with some general and concluding observations.

He does not hesitate to avow his belief, that the religious Society of Friends were a people originally raised up, in the line of the Apostles, martyrs, and confessors of Christ Jesus, the blessed Mediator, "whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." Micah, v. 2. He rests assured, they were designed to be faithful and living witnesses of the revival of that "time of reformation," Heb. ix. 10. when the holy Head and High Priest, having ascended up on high, visibly separated and eminently sanctified to himself "a glorious church," whose character and constitution is best set forth in the disencumbered pages of Sacred Writ. Doubtless, through the long night of apostasy, which succeeded the first establishment of the Christian church, there has been, at every period, a "remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ." Rev. xii. 17. These,—however they may differ in some respects one from another, according to that measure of light and

knowledge which has been assigned them, according to the particular share in this testimony, with which they may have been intrusted,—while they continue to occupy with the talent of grace received, and to walk in the way of the cross, as mercifully cast up before them,—are all under the special notice and care of the great Shepherd of the sheep.

The church, then, coming up more and more from a wilderness state, "leaning on her Beloved," out of that oppressed and beclouded condition, into which she has been driven; it is certain, she will be more and more clothed with the glory of the Sun of righteousness, and there will be more clear vision among her children. The power of Antichrist will be more unveiled before them in all his delusions,—that is, they will be given to know what has contributed to eclipse the brightness of the gospel day, and to detain her in weakness and in bondage; also, "they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion." Isai. lii. 8. But, in the mean while, it behoves every of her sons and daughters, who are from time to time made sensible of any degree of *captivity, to shake themselves as from the dust, and to loose the bands of their neck,* Isai. lii. 2; in other words, no longer to be resting satisfied with any thing short of that perfect reformation and redemption, which the Deliverer is opening before them.

It was to be expected, in the progress of this glorious work,—a work to be begun and to be carried on in the hearts of individuals,—that there should be different classes of students in the school of Christ; and that as each of the "members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones," were attracted to acknowledge one another in the covenant of life, according to the vision of the Prophet, they should come

"*bone to his bone.*" How precious is the consideration,—that as the various professors of the saving faith of Jesus, more largely and more purely drink into his Spirit, they will be *by this one Spirit baptized into one body;* and will feel themselves to be, far more truly than can at present be said to be the case,—*bone of* HIS *bone,* who is espoused to be their Husband,—and "every one members one of another!" Thus, there is cause to believe, that, "in the dispensation of the fulness of times," will be gathered "together in one, all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in Him." Eph. i. 10.

The situation and prospects, in every age, of the true disciples of our Lord and Saviour, must prove to the Christian mind a subject of vast importance; and it deeply concerns every one of us to know for ourselves, how far we are promoting, by individual reception of the leaven of his gospel, that universal diffusion of unmixed "glory," which, we are assured, "shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea." Hab. ii. 14. The government and dominion of "the Prince of Life," "the Prince of Peace," which is ultimately to subdue and reduce all things unto itself, Dan. ii. 44, the Society of Friends have preeminently held, to be wholly of a spiritual character: it is to be set up *within* man, and "cometh not by observation," neither stands in any mere outward observances, but in "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." They have all along considered the standing, lasting, and indispensable ordinance of the gospel to be, *the manifestation of the Saviour by his Spirit, as the Guide into* ALL *truth;* according to the whole tenour of the 14th chapter of John, and likewise that language

of the Apostle to the Hebrews:—"Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and *unto them that look for him, shall he appear the second time, without sin, unto salvation.*" Chap. ix. ver. 28. See Appendix, *FF*. This Society has therefore deemed it essential *to know the reality of the presence of Christ dwelling in their hearts by faith;* and has judged it in the highest degree needful, *to love and wait for his appearing and counsel,* to bow the neck to his yoke, and *to commit themselves in all things most unreservedly to his leadings.* In this way, they believe it was, that our blessed Redeemer engaged *to manifest himself* unto those, and *make his abode with them,* who should keep his commandments; and thus also it is, that such *who do his will* are given *to know of his doctrine.* For, of the Spirit of Truth, which "teacheth" the believers "all things," our Lord himself declared,—"He shall *testify* of me"—"He shall *glorify* me." John, xv. 26, and xvi. 14. *This* remains to be a chief test or proof of discipleship; insomuch, that, *if we have not the Spirit of Christ, we are none of his,* Rom. viii. 9. This also is the only channel, whereby we may savingly believe or confess him; for—"Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is *born of God,*" and "*hath the Witness in himself;*" and again, seeing, "no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, *but by the Holy Ghost,*" "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, *God dwelleth in him, and he in God.*" 1 John, v. 1, and 10; 1 Cor. xii. 3; 1 John, iv. 15. See Appendix, *GG*.

It may be freely and with thankfulness admitted, that such a Scriptural acknowledgment as the foregoing, does not by any means exclusively belong to

those of one particular class or persuasion; but has ever been, though with various degrees of clearness, substantially and virtually the experience of a cloud of witnesses, through every age of the church. And while there seems room to hope, that these practical yet momentous views of doctrinal truth, have been of late more distinctly avowed and more duly appreciated by the generality of religious professors; still, even among the worthiest of these, abundant occasion remains, to sigh for a further clearing of *the ancient, primitive ground;* that so the doctrine of the Spirit might be, in many respects, more consistently upheld, more particularly applied, more fully followed out into its legitimate and genuine bearings. Can there be a doubt, that the more closely the churches of Christ have been ingrafted into Him, the Vine of Life, the more they have participated in all those blessed privileges provided for them? and have they not uniformly found the less need, as well as the less liberty, for the intervention and use of human props, human shackles, human rudiments? Nor is it derogatory to the scope and character of the Sacred Page, or the merciful designs of its Divine Author, to believe,—that, were the various Christian denominations more thoroughly disentangled from these things, were they to "cease from man" and "the commandments of men," implicitly and disinterestedly *following on* to know the Lord,—following "the Lamb *whithersoever* he goeth;"—they would come to witness, in a marvellous manner, "his going forth" to be "prepared as the morning," and his coming in among them, even "as the rain, as the latter and former rain unto the earth." Their glorious Lawgiver, and Judge, and King would also be in the midst of Zion, the city of their solemnities,—the "quiet habi-

tation,"—as "a place of broad rivers and streams," wherein should go "no galley with oars, neither gallant ship pass thereby." Isai. xxxiii. 20, 21.

With regard to the Society of Friends, whose history in a corner of the land has been now portrayed, they have been cordially willing, to own in their places, *all such as these*,—that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and are following him in the regeneration.—"We have ever had," says Alexander Skene, one of the subjects of these Memoirs, "*a reverent esteem* of all faithful ministers, who in simplicity and sincerity of heart have endeavoured to preach the gospel; though in many things short of those blessed discoveries which God hath manifested *to us*. And we do remember those that were such with due respect, *as having been faithful according to measure in their day, and blessed instruments in God's hand to the good of many*. But, it is not the duty of any Christian to stand still, and shut out all further discovery than that to which *they* attained. For, as all the degrees of the apostasy came not at once, nor with the first or second trumpet, Rev. viii.; so, neither is the reformation to be completed by the first or second vial, Rev. xvi." Again, George Keith, another of the Friends in Scotland, at a time when he was much respected among his brethren, had this record to bear concerning some who preceded them.—"There have been holy and spiritual men in the *Presbyterian Church*, that have in a blessed measure known communion with God in spirit, and were *faithful* in the talents given them of God: I believe their souls are entered into everlasting rest, and their memory is *as a box of precious ointment*, among others of the Lord's witnesses in [different] professions and places of the world."

So that, whatever disposition may *appear* to have existed, on the part of the first preachers among the people termed "Quakers," towards the various denominations then prevalent around them; it is certain, their controversy was not with the tender, teachable disciples of a crucified Saviour, but rather with the "man of sin," the deceiver, and antichrist, in his various transformations among men. He had obtained a strong hold in many hearts, by persuading them, that they were secure from delusion, because they possessed the specious charm of a high profession—even an appropriation of the experiences, with an imitation of the performances, of the saints. In this state, had he too successfully endeavoured to settle the minds of people, not a few of whom had once truly "tasted that the Lord is gracious,"—who had "begun" well "in the Spirit," and in the "newness of life."

It was this view, which led William Penn, among a multitude of other writers and preachers, to give forth such a paragraph as the following, which appears in his piece, entitled "The Christian Quaker:"——"He is as well taught to deny the religions, as cares and pleasures of the world: Such as profess religion from what they have either been taught by others, or read and gathered after their carnal minds out of the Scriptures, intruding into the practices of either prophets or apostles, as to external and shadowy things, not being led by the same power *they* had, he can have no fellowship with:—he counts all *such* faith and worship the imagination of men, or a mere lifeless imitation. He prefers one sigh, begotten from a sense of God's work in the heart, beyond the longest prayers in *that* state. *He leaves them all, walks as a man alone, fearing to offer God a sacrifice that is not of His own preparing.* He

charges all other faiths and worships, with insufficiency, and mere creaturely power, which are not held and performed from a holy conviction and preparation by the Angel of God, the Light of his presence in the heart and conscience. *Therefore*, it is, that he goes forth in the strength of his God against the merchants of Babylon; and woes and plagues are rightly in his mouth against those buyers and sellers of the souls of men. He is jealous for the name of the Lord, and therefore dares not speak peace unto them, neither can he put into their mouths, but testifies against all such ways. *Freely he received, freely he gives.*"—Penn's Works, fol. vol. i. p. 587.

It is important, that the views of this Society, at its earliest period, with regard to what may be styled, *the day of reformation and the true sons of reform*, should clearly be understood; and therefore three additional extracts, somewhat simplified in the form of expression, shall be subjoined, from distinguished authorities among them.——In the first of Robert Barclay's Works, published in the year 1670, when he was but 22 years of age, this explicit statement appears.—"God does not frequently discover his will to his children *all at once*, nor *in an instant* lead them thoroughly out of things [from] which they are to come; and yet, that he countenances them *in their travel*, cannot be denied. Did not the Lord countenance Cornelius, before Peter came unto him? Acts, x. 4. And yet this was no argument, that Cornelius should *not* own the apostles and Christians. And did not the Lord countenance the disciples, when they were following him, though even [then] they were ignorant of many things, and in some things [were] wrong? And did not the Lord countenance Luther, in his testimony against the Pope,

as well in the first as in the last steps of it; although it appears, that when he first began to preach against indulgences, he did not intend such a thing as afterward followed. But things opened more and more before him, till they came to that period, to which they were brought before his death. And who will say, that God did not countenance him *from the beginning*, whilst he held many things, which [afterward] he himself came to see were wrong? The like may be said of John Huss, and others." R. B.'s Works, fol. p. 5.——Again, in his "Apology," he has this language: — "The great apostasy came not upon the Christian world all at once, but by several degrees, one thing making way for another; until that thick and gross veil came to be overspread, wherewith the nations were so blindly covered, from the 7th or 8th until the 16th century. Even as the darkness of the night comes not upon the outward creation all at once, but by degrees, according as the sun declines in each horizon. So, neither did that full and clear light and knowledge of the glorious dispensation of the gospel of Christ, appear all at once; the work of the first witnesses being more to testify against and discover *the abuses of the apostasy*, than *to establish the Truth* in purity. He that comes to build a new city, must first remove the old rubbish, before he can see to lay a new foundation; and he that comes to a house greatly polluted and full of dirt, will first sweep away and remove the filth, before he put up his own good and new furniture. The dawning of the day dispels the darkness, and makes us see the things that are most conspicuous; but the distinct discovering and discerning of things, so as to make a certain and perfect observation, is reserved for the arising of the sun, and its

shining in full brightness. And we can from a certain experience boldly affirm, that *the not waiting for this,* but *building among, yea, and with, the old Popish rubbish, and setting up* before a full *purgation,* hath been to most Protestants the foundation of many a mistake, and an occasion of unspeakable hurt." Prop. 5 and 6. sect. 10.

But Penington enters yet more into particulars in the succeeding passages, taken from "An Answer to the Objection, *That the Quakers condemn all but themselves:*" first printed in the year 1660.—"The Protestant churches, the blessed martyrs, who suffered for the testimony of a pure conscience towards God, and all the worthies of the Lord in their several generations, who fought against 'the scarlet whore,' were accepted of God in their testimony against her, and are not disowned by us, but *dearly owned and honoured* therein.——But all things were not discovered at once. The times were then dark, and the light small; yet they being faithful according to what was discovered, were precious in the Lord's eyes; and what through ignorance they erred in, the Lord winked at and overlooked, being pleased with that sincerity and simplicity of heart, which he had stirred up in them towards himself. But if they were now alive in *these* our days, and should depart from the sincerity which was *then* in them, and oppose the light of this age, they would not then be accepted of the Lord; but their former sincerity would be forgotten. *For the light shineth more and more towards the perfect day:* and it is not the owning of the light as it shone in the *foregoing* ages, which will *now* commend any man to God; but the knowing and [being] subject to the light of the *present* age. Even as, in these our days, there was, some years ago, an

honest and true simplicity stirring in the Puritans, especially among the Nonconformists, *which was of the Lord, and was very dear to him.* And had the generations of this age abode there, they would have been able to have followed the Lord in every *further* step and leading of his Spirit. But departing from that, into some form or other, the true simplicity withered, and another thing began to live in them; and so they settled upon their lees, magnifying the form they had chose to themselves, till at length their hearts became hardened from the pure fear, even to the contracting of a spirit of profaneness; insomuch, that they could mock at the *next remove* and discovery of the Spirit, as some *new light;* and so, by degrees have grown persecutors of *that* Spirit in its outgoings in the people of the Lord, which they themselves had once some taste of, while they were reproached for being Puritans. And the god of this world, who at first tempted them aside into the form, hath at length prevailed so far to blind them therewith, that they can neither see what spirit they themselves are of, nor what spirit it is they persecute. ——If there be any among the Episcopal sort, that in truth of heart desire to fear the Lord, and look upon the Common Prayer Book as an acceptable way of worshipping him; we pity their blindness, yet are tender towards them, and would not have the simplicity persecuted in them because of this, but rather cherished. If there be any among the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Seekers, or any other sort, that in truth of heart wait upon the Lord in those ways, *and do not find a deadness overgrown them,* but a pure, fresh, lively zeal towards God, with an unfeigned love to his people,—*our hearts are one with this.* And we cannot fight against this good

thing in any of them; though in love to them we testify, that their form and way of worship is their present loss and hinderance. Yet, we doubt not, but that the Lord in his time will make manifest to such *the light of this age.*" See his Works, oct. edit. vol. ii. p. 149, &c.

While it may be readily conceded, with a late writer, that "it is not wonderful, the views of the Puritans on many subjects were imperfect; but rather surprising, that they saw *so much*, and that, with those views, they were able so boldly to contend for what they believed to be the cause of God:"—(Orme's Life of Owen, p. 6.)—yet is there reason to believe, on the other hand, that Penington's description of their declining state, as given above, was strictly appropriate; and that they did not retain that tender, teachable, and humble spirit, which at an early period so strikingly characterised many of their number.

It would scarcely be excusable to pass by, on this occasion, that memorable and comprehensive language used by John Robinson, one of the primitive pastors among the Independents, on taking leave of his congregation about the year 1620, as mentioned in Neale's History of the Puritans.—"I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for, *I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word.* For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no further than the instruments of their reformation. The Lu-

therans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our great God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast *where they were left* by that great man, who yet saw not *all things.* This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into *the whole counsel of God;* but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further light, as that which they first received. I beseech you, remember it, it is an article of your church covenant, That you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God. Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant: But I must herewith exhort you, to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other Scriptures of truth, before you receive it; for it is not possible, the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and *that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.*"

But, whoever, with unprejudiced eyes, looks into the best estate and brightest transactions of the different periods of *reformation* in the church, (taking this term in an enlarged sense,) must perceive,—that the views, and hopes, and prayers *of the most godly,* have uniformly verged onward towards a purer standard, both of doctrine, discipline, and general practice, than that to which, under those obstructions attendant, *they themselves* were enabled to bring their followers. Accordingly, we find, that even *the writings of many such, among the "Established Church of England,"* have, as is well known, been frequently adduced by the different classes of Dissenters from

that body, in confirmation of the several occasions of their dissent. Authors of some note, also, under our own name, have made considerable use of *such testimony*, in setting forth the necessity for a still greater remove, from the precincts, and approaches, and back-ways to Babylon. And it is believed, that much more might in this line be produced, tending to place in strong light the sentiment with which the present chapter was opened: namely, that the Society of Friends have travelled along in the footsteps, and as successors of the earlier servants of Christ; and have believed themselves raised up to bear a faithful and clear witness to the simplicity, perfection, and spirituality of his holy religion.

And, as the time drew on, when these people began to be discernible throughout these kingdoms, in the shape of a gathered church, during that unsettlement, both in political and religious affairs, to which THE DIARY OF JAFFRAY so frequently refers,—has not the impartial reader observed, (even if altogether unacquainted with collateral evidence of a similar description,) *what hunger and thirst after a growth in righteousness very generally prevailed.* On all hands the inquiry was excited, after the more perfect discovery of a knowledge of the Truth; thousands of awakened and prepared spirits were *reaching forth unto those things* of the kingdom of God, *which were before*, and which many of them believed, were about to "break forth as the morning." Every journal of the experience of individuals, who at this crisis entered into communion with the Friends, gives ample proof—to go no further—as to the existence of numerous classes of seeking, waiting souls; who longed, not only for deliverance from the bondage of sin, but from the thraldom of unavailing speculation, and

from the commandments and traditions of men. The very names, which were given, often in contempt, to the various parties who separated by turns from each other, in some degree betoken the presence of *that leaven, which was at work underneath*, in the minds of many, notwithstanding all the conflicting elements and confused heaps, that lay upon it. On this subject, the small publication, well known to the Society of Friends, which William Penn entitles "A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers," may be consulted with advantage; as conveying no unappropriate epitome of the ground successively taken by those under various religious denominations, whose origin preceded that of our own: but our historians, Gough and Rutty, having both made use of copious extracts in their introductions, it becomes the less needful here to recur to it.

The Author of the present volume, has thus, in the conclusion of it, attempted, however inadequately, to set down some observations, which have been often present with him, while pursuing his interesting engagement. They have reference, chiefly, to the condition of the living, baptized believers in our holy Redeemer, since the time when first a door of degeneracy was opened amongst them. In the course of these remarks, he has adverted, somewhat, to the occasion of all well-grounded revival or reform in religion—an inward sense of deficiency, and of departure from the true gospel standard, testified of in the Sacred Oracles. He has also briefly thrown out the view, so strongly entertained by those, whose history he has been tracing,—that Protestants in general have, in a lamentable degree, fallen short of that

path of perfect reformation, which, he cannot doubt, would have been long since cast up before them; had they more entirely yielded themselves to the disposal of the Bishop of souls, unfettered by the bias of mere creaturely constructions and contrivance. And further, he has shown, that, when those individuals, afterward designated "Quakers," were drawn away from all other forms of worship, systems of faith, and modes of practice, so as to originate in these kingdoms a distinct people;—this circumstance purely arose out of a most deep conviction, on their parts, of the essential reality of such views, — from a fervent desire after *that all-important attainment*—even to be "built up, an habitation of God, *through the Spirit*." They undoubtedly believed themselves called upon, in awful humility of mind, and with a just sense of the privileges bestowed upon *preceding* generations, to go *further* in this glorious work, even *beyond* all other "sons of the morning,"—to take *higher* ground than that, which was held out by the *highest* in religious profession around them. This being the case, it is by no means a very unnatural assumption to take up, that, while other Christian denominations continue at the point where they have even now arrived, and we ourselves are favoured to keep that which is still committed to us, (unworthy as we are,) —there is great probability, a testimony such as this, to the spiritual standard of the gospel, will not altogether cease, or be suffered utterly to fail.

The Society of Friends, when bowed in gratitude before the Lord, in a view of the extent of his long-suffering loving-kindness and faithfulness towards them, can surely do no other than hold themselves most deeply responsible, for that station they are called upon to occupy in the ranks of the army of

the Lamb. And whatever this station *may actually have been, or may yet be,* whether in the van or in the rear, whether among the reserved corps, or as an advanced guard in extending the limits of his sway; it is enough for them—without yielding to that curiosity reproved in one of old, who asked his Lord, "And what shall this man do?"—simply, but fervently, to seek to know their own allotment of service and of suffering in the universal family of God; and, *by keeping within the range of his leadings, to the work of their day,* in this manner to evince their allegiance, and give him glory.

Another subject, touched upon in the course of the present observations, as forming a prominent feature in the character of those principles, maintained by this religious community from their earliest appearance, is—that latitude of feeling towards, that hopeful and tender perception of, *the least dawnings of good in others.* The writer of these pages trusts he has sufficiently proved—and he wishes again to confirm the assertion—how desirous they have always been, to cherish a real esteem for all those, who, by straight though ever so feeble steppings in the line of heavenly guidance, are contributing to "prepare the way" of the Lord, whether among their own class or amongst others; and thus to "take up the stumbling-block out of the way" of his people. *They must continue* to approve and own the symptoms and proceedings of Christ's Spirit wherever discoverable—divested, indeed, of that mass of adulterations and superadditions, which the will and wisdom of the natural man, in league with the cunning of our restless adversary, has ever sought to mix in with them. So far, then, from deprecating, we cannot but hail every, the least effort, which those who fear God have

made, toward the restoration of primitive Christianity, —that is, wherever we can believe this to have been purely under the conduct of the grace of Jesus. With such an understanding, we are most cordially in unison with,—first, the ancient *Evangelical* spirit, in its day; the true *Catholic* spirit, in its day; the zealous *Reforming* spirit, in its day; the *Puritan* spirit; the *Nonconforming* spirit, of every kind, in its best and lowly estate. While, on the other hand, our objection continues to be, as it ever has been, to traditions and injunctions of men, not authorised by the counsels of Truth; to forms and modes, notions and observances, which,—while the Spirit of Truth hath tenderly borne with, sweetly owning the integrity of those who used them—*that heavenly Counsellor himself* never prescribed or appointed. Nay; doth not the controversy of this people lie still deeper?—is it not consistent with their apprehensions of duty, even to "turn away" from such as are settled in the *very* "*form of godliness*" *itself*, should these *deny* that *power*, which alone can preserve alive, in the acceptable use of any of the ordinances of God?

END OF THE MEMOIRS.

APPENDIX

OF

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE MEMOIRS.

NOTE *A*.—Page 229.

A PERSON of some note, who had been an officer under Oliver Cromwell, related to James Wilson the following anecdote.—"After the battle of Dunbar, as I was riding in Scotland at the head of my troop, I observed, at some distance from the road, a crowd of people, and one higher than the rest; upon which I sent one of my men to see, and bring me word, what was the meaning of this gathering. And seeing him ride up and stay there, without returning according to my order, I sent a second, who staid in like manner; and then I determined to go myself. When I came thither, I found it was James Nayler preaching to the people; but with such power and reaching energy, as I had not till then been witness of. I could not help staying a little, although I was afraid to stay; *for I was made a Quaker, being forced to tremble at the sight of myself.* I was struck with more terror by the preaching of James Nayler, than I was at the battle of Dunbar, when we had nothing else to expect, but to fall a prey to the swords of our enemies, without being able to help ourselves. I clearly saw the cross to be submitted to; so I durst stay no longer, but got off, and carried condemnation for it in my own breast. The people there, in the clear and powerful opening of their states, cried out against themselves, imploring mercy, a thorough change, and the whole work of salvation to be effected in them."—See J. Gough's Journal.

NOTE *B*.—Page 230.

Extract from Memoirs of the Life of Stephen Crisp, 1824, p. 53.——"About the year 1659, I often felt the aboundings of the love of God in my heart; and a cry, to stand given up to his will;—which I thought I was, not knowing or foreseeing what the Lord was intending to do with me; but his eye saw further than mine. This love, and tenderness, and bowels of compassion wrought so in me, that it extended even to all men on the whole

face of the earth, so that I cried in spirit, *Oh, that all men knew Thee and thy goodness!* And, upon a time, as I was waiting upon the Lord, his word arose in me, and commanded me to forsake and part with my dear wife and children, father and mother, and to go and bear witness to his name in Scotland, to that high professing nation."—"Oh! how I would have pleaded my own inability, the care of my family, my service in that particular meeting, and many more things; and all, that I might have been excused from this one thing which was come upon me, that I thought not of, or looked not for. But after many reasonings, days and weeks by myself, I thought it best to speak of it to some of the faithful elders and ministers of the everlasting gospel; not knowing but they might discourage me, and something there was which hoped it, but contrarily, they encouraged me, and laid it upon me to be faithful. So then I gave up, and acquainted my dear wife therewith, which began me a new exercise, the enemy working in her strongly to stop me. But, in much patience was I kept, and in quietness; and went and visited Friends' meetings about Essex, and part of Suffolk, chiefly to see them, and to take my leave of them; and in some meetings the Lord would open my mouth in a few words to the refreshing of Friends; but I rather chose silence, when I might so. The winter drew nigh, and something would have deferred it till next summer; but the Lord showed me, it was not to be *my time*, but *his time*. Then, I would have gone by sea; but the Lord withstood me, and showed me, it must not be *my way*, but *his way;* and if I would be obedient, he would be with me and prosper my journey, otherwise his hand would strike me. So I gave up *all;* and pretty much with cheerfulness, at last, I obeyed; and about the end of the 7th month [old style] I went forth, and visited the churches of Christ.

"As I went along in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, I quickly perceived, that the Lord was with me, more than at other times; and my journey became joyful, and the more so, in that though I were but weak, poor, and low, yet God gave me acceptance among the elders of his people; and, in every place, my testimony was owned, and divers were convinced of the everlasting Truth: then I marvelled, and said, *Lord! the glory alone belongs to thee, for thou hast wrought wonders for thy name's sake, and for thy holy seed's sake.* I got into Scotland in the 9th month that year, and travelled to and fro that winter on foot with cheerfulness. Many straits and difficulties attended me, which I forbear to mention; it being the time of the motion of the English and Scottish armies, upon which succeeded the revolution of government, and the

bringing back of King Charles the 2nd into England. Well, about the 11th or 12th month I returned, and travelled into the west, to Westmoreland, part of Lancashire, and so up to the southward; and in about five or six months' time, was, by the good hand of God, brought home to my wife, and children, and relations; in all my journey having been sweetly accompanied with the presence of the Lord; and his power often filled my earthen vessel, and made my cup to overflow; praises for ever be to his name! saith my soul."

Note *C.*—Page 232.

In explanation of the use of the term "steeple-houses" in this paragraph, readers not connected with the Society of Friends, are referred to the following note which occurs in "Select Anecdotes," &c. illustrative of their sentiments and conduct, by the Author of the present volume.

"It seems scarcely needful to remark, that the word '*church*' is in Holy Scripture never applied to an outward temple or building, but to a company of believers, whether generally or particularly. A Friend being interrogated by a bishop, Why he did not go to church? replied, 'I *do* go to church; and sometimes the church comes to me.' See 1 Cor. xvi. 19, Col. iv. 15, and Philem. 2. Thus the use of this term appears to have crept in among Christians, and with it a superstitious *consecration* of those places, as possessing some latent quality, not affecting other works of art or nature. To this, Stephen the martyr evidently alluded, when he said, 'Howbeit, the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands,' &c. Acts, vii. 48. The term 'steeple-house' not unfrequently occurs in the early writings and records of Friends. It may sound harsh to most ears, if it does not seem to savour of the scurrility and intolerance of that zealous age: yet the reader may be assured, that this, or any other mode of speech adopted among us as a people, was by no means taken up for the purpose of opprobrium, but rather significantly to discover the little veneration or distinction they could show for these buildings, more than for their own habitations;—they believing, that the Almighty is equally present every where, to bless and to sanctify every place and every thing to those that walk uprightly on the earth—his footstool." p. 185.

Note *D.*—Page 235.

Elizabeth Goodall has been already thus briefly mentioned by Jaffray in his Diary, p. 126,—"*that gracious woman, Elsinet Smith.*"

Some readers may not be aware, that the married woman in Scotland usually retained her maiden name. *Elsinet* and *Elspit* are concluded to be Scottish variations of *Elizabeth*. In the Records of the Society of Friends at Aberdeen, this minute appears on occasion of her death.—"Upon the 21st day of the 12th month, 1691-2, it pleased the Lord to remove from the visible [church,] our dear and ancient friend, Elspit Smith, relict of Andrew Goodall, who was one of the first gathered hereaway, an honest and serious woman, whose body was peaceably and honourably buried in Friends' burial-ground in this city on the 23d day:—The Lord having given his children victory over that wicked and inhuman spirit, that so often and long stopped our burials and raised our dead; [so] that now they are as peaceable and quiet as any other, and attended with many people and the magistrates of the city." This last passage will be explained in the course of the history.

Note *E.*—Page 236.

John Boccold, a tailor of Leyden, leader of a mob, who, entertaining wild notions about liberty and equality, possessed themselves of Munster in Westphalia, about the year 1535. The inhabitants of the Low Countries joined him, and Munster became in their imagination Mount Zion, and this man fancied he was called to sit on the throne of David. His fanaticism was connected with the most unrestrained licentiousness and extravagant conduct.—Mann's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History and Nonconformity. p. 225.

Note *F.*—Page 238.

Doubtless, it was in allusion to such instances as this of George Gray, that Robert Barclay thus speaks: "If in any age since the apostles' days, God hath purposed to show his power *by weak instruments*, for the battering down of that carnal and heathenish wisdom, and restoring again the ancient simplicity of Truth, this is it. For, in our day, God hath raised up witnesses for himself, as he did fishermen of old; many, yea, most of whom are labouring and mechanic men: who, altogether without that learning, have by the power and Spirit of God struck at the very root and ground of Babylon; and in the strength and might of this power, have, by reaching their consciences, gathered thousands into the same power and life, who, as to the outward part, have been far more knowing than they, yet not able to resist the virtue that proceeded from them. Of [this] I myself am a true witness, and can declare from a certain experience, because my heart hath

been often greatly broken and tendered by that virtuous life, that hath proceeded *from the powerful ministry of those illiterate men:* so that by their very countenance, as well as words, I have felt the evil in me often chained down, and the good reached to and raised. What shall I then say to you, who are lovers of learning and admirers of knowledge? Was not I also a lover and admirer of it, who also sought after it according to my age and capacity? But it pleased God in his unutterable love, early to withstand my vain endeavours, while I was yet but eighteen years of age; and made me seriously to consider, (which I wish also may befall others,) that without holiness no man can see God, and that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and to depart from iniquity a good understanding; and how much knowledge puffeth up, and leadeth away from that *inward quietness, stillness, and humility of mind, where the Lord appears and his heavenly wisdom is revealed.* If ye consider these things, then will ye say with me, that all this learning, wisdom, and knowledge, gathered in this fallen nature, is but as dross and dung in comparison of the cross of Christ; especially being destitute of that power, life, and virtue, which I perceived these excellent (though despised, because illiterate) witnesses of God to be filled with. And therefore, seeing that in and among them I, with many others, have found *the heavenly food that gives contentment, let my soul seek after this learning, and wait for it for ever!* Barclay's Works, fol. p. 426. or Apology, Prop. 10. sect. 23.

Note *G.*—Page 241.

Respecting the persecution of the Scottish Presbyterians, between the time of the Restoration and the Revolution, Cruickshank, their historian, in his preface has this comprehensive language.—"Many were exorbitantly fined, unjustly imprisoned, oppressed by soldiers, plundered by dragoons and a lawless Highland host Multitudes were forced to wander about in dens and caves of the earth. Not a few were tortured by boots, thumbkins, firematches, &c. Some were beheaded, others were hanged and quartered; women as well as men, suffered death; some of them were hanged, and others drowned; prisons were crowded and ships were loaded with prisoners, who were banished from their native country, of whom many perished." &c. &c.—It is much to be regretted, that this class of Protestants, do not appear as a body, to have been sensible of the imperative duty there is upon Christians, when they are called to suffer, not to resist the evil, nor even to threaten

evil, but to commit themselves and their cause to His keeping, who ruleth "the raging of the sea," and ever sustains his children that trust in Him alone. Certainly, by adopting another course, the Covenanters obscured the brightness of their testimony, and provoked their enemies, instead of heaping "coals of fire" on their heads.

Cave, in his "Primitive Christianity," has this passage relative to the conduct of the first followers of our blessed Lord: it is deemed particularly worthy the attention of the reader, before he enters upon the narrative of the persecution of the Friends in Scotland.

"And if they did not run away from suffering, much less did they oppose it, and make tumults and parties to defend themselves; no, they were led as lambs to the slaughter, and as sheep before the shearers are dumb, so opened not they their mouth, but committed their cause to Him who judges righteously, and who has said, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it. None of us, says Cyprian to the Governor, when apprehended, makes resistance: nor, though our party be large and numerous, revenges himself for that unjust violence that you offer to us. We patiently acquiesce in the assurance of a future vengeance; the innocent truckle under the unrighteous, the guiltless quietly submit to pains and tortures; knowing for certain, that whatever we now suffer, shall not remain unpunished; and that the greater the injury that is done us in these persecutions we endure, the more just and heavy will be that vengeance that will follow it. *Never was any wicked attempt made against Christians, but a divine vengeance was seen at the heels of it.*" 3rd edit. p. 175.

Note *H.*—Page 241.

The following is a brief outline of the career of George Keith, whose name does not often appear prominent in these Memoirs: it is principally abstracted from the supplement to the last edition of Thomas Ellwood's Life.

George Keith was educated in the Presbyterian Church, was a man of talent and learning, and had obtained the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Aberdeen, the place of his nativity. During a period of about thirty years, he had been a public and zealous advocate of the principles held by Friends; but becoming one of the earliest settlers in Pennsylvania, after residing there about ten years, he was the means of aggravating by a religious schism, the political differences which then agitated that infant colony. He had imbibed notions subversive of all social order,

which led him to conduct himself with great disrespect towards the civil authorities in the state; and rendered him dissatisfied also with those wholesome restraints, which the Society in its church discipline enjoins upon its members. Not stopping here, he opposed and ridiculed some of those very doctrines and practices, in support of which, he had both written, preached, and suffered: at length, having formed a separate congregation, they assumed the denomination of *Christian Quakers*. His adherents, however, gradually forsook him, perceiving that his religious tenets were fast verging towards those of the "Established Church of England." He actually obtained the living of Elburton parish in Sussex, where he ended his days in the year 1715, maintaining nearly, if not quite, to the last, a violent opposition against the Friends and their principles.

The following affectingly interesting letter, was addressed by the Friends at Aberdeen to George Keith and his wife Elizabeth, not long after the former had discovered sentiments, at variance with those of the Society. Elizabeth's maiden name was Johnston; of whom honourable mention has been made, among others of the earliest supporters of this cause and people.

"Our ancient Friends, George and Elizabeth Keith!

"What love and respect hath, and doth all along live in our hearts to you both, we shall leave to Him that best knoweth our hearts,—as to those, whom the Lord made eminently instrumental in your several stations, to build up his church and people hereaway in love and unity, in the most holy faith, upon that sure foundation, Christ within, our 'hope of glory:'—and also, the one of you so valiantly to defend the principles of this holy Truth against its opposers, to the confounding of them. And [it] rejoiced the hearts of God's children, in seeing, (by his precious gifts of understanding and opening the mysteries of this glorious gospel and inward treasures thereof,) the universal, free love of God to all mankind, to be so excellently demonstrated both from Scripture, inward experience, and testimonies of many sorts;—especially by these two excellent treatises of 'Immediate Revelation,' and 'The Universal Light or free grace of God asserted,' &c. And how glad should our hearts have been, to have found thee, George, going on, as moved thereunto, to improve thy talents, which the Lord hath liberally given thee, for further spreading the beauty, fame, excellency, and loveliness of this precious, inward plant of renown; and so edifying, comforting, and strengthening the flocks of Christ, as in pastures of love,

that the beauty of the love of brethren in unity might flow as sweet ointment, to make the lamp of Truth shine with lustre throughout the world,—as in due time we believe it shall.

"But with what grieved and bowed down hearts and spirits we first heard, and afterward came to see, *that* to be published by thee, and some others joined with thee, which, (as is found in the very entry of one of the treatises) will grieve the honest-hearted, and make the uncircumcised rejoice, and say, 'Ah! so would we have it:—they, yea, the chief champions among them, are now confessing what their enemies preached, That there are as great errors among them, called Quakers, as among other people,—and particularly [thy] undervaluing the outward appearance and sufferings of the Son of God, and not [being] sound about the resurrection.—O George! bear with us in love, for we can say, it is in tender breakings of heart we utter it, and in tender breathings for thee,—that if that sweet, healing, meek, self-denying spirit of lowly Jesus had been kept and abode in, your breaches thereaway would have been handled after another manner; and such a sad occasion to amuse the world, sadden the hearts of God's children, and rejoice the enemies of Zion's peace and prosperity, had never been told in Gath, nor published in Askelon. Though we doubt not, but there have been provocations on both sides, (and we own the errors of none,) yet we must say, that that bitter, rending, forward spirit, that would publish so hastily to the world such sad tidings, was not of God: and as for our spreading the books, or accounts thereof, we are in no wise free thereunto. Blessed be the Lord our God! though we be but a few in number, yet love, unity, and peace, is in a measure among us; and our esteem of the most precious, saving, sufficient Light and grace of Christ within, the hope of glory, is rather growing than diminishing among the faithful; and we know assuredly, all in every nation that fear God, (who is Light) and work righteousness, are, and shall be accepted of him; and no more is required of any, than he gives them, though ignorant as to [the] outward.

"So, our dear and ancient Friends, we earnestly desire you to receive in a right mind our innocent freedom and love; and, in the cool of the day, go forth again with your brethren into the ancient green pastures of love, and to the healing springs of life: giving up to fire and sword that which is for it; so the *first* and the *last* works shall be precious together; then 'righteousness and peace shall kiss each other:' And we can say, (appealing to the Lord our God, the searcher of hearts,) our joy shall be great, to hear that the sweet, healing, and uniting life hath, or shall make

up all these breaches in Israel's camp, by all of us submitting to it, and the true judgment thereof in his church; and, in this sweet ancient spring of our Father's love, wherein we have often been sweetly refreshed together many years ago, shall we truly rejoice to hear from you, and also to see your faces,—who remain your true Friends and wellwishers.

"Aberdeen, 23rd of 3rd month, 1694."

Gough, in his History of Friends, states his reasons for supposing that George Keith was favoured, particularly near his latter end, with seasons of serious reflection; wherein, he viewed the peaceful state of his mind, whilst in unity and peace with the "Quakers" as brethren, and felt remorse under the loss of it. On one occasion, as he lay ill on his death-bed, he was visited by Richard Hayler of Sussex; and, among other things that passed, he expressed himself in these words,—"I wish I had died when I was a Quaker; for then, I am sure, it would have been well with my soul." vol. iii. p. 452, and vol. iv. p. 147. At the latter page, this author closes his narrative with some weighty cautions, adapted especially *to the gifted members of this,* or indeed *of any religious body,*—to beware of *an exalted spirit.*

The reflections, likewise, made in their Journals, by two highly respectable members of the Society, who were cotemporary with George Keith, deserve the attention of those who read his history. The first occurs in the Memoirs of John Whiting, p. 496.

"I would not say, as some are apt, when any fall away, that they were never right, *for a righteous man may turn from his righteousness;* knowing by his writings, that he had a true convincement and work of God upon him; and was enlightened, and had *tasted of the heavenly gift, and of the powers of the world to come;* as his 'Help in time of need,' his 'Immediate Revelation,' 'The Benefit, Advantage, and Glory of Silent Meetings,' with several others of his writings, do show: and he was serviceable with Robert Barclay in some controversies in defence of the Truth, and in some others, and [was] valued for his gifts, while he used them in humility and subserviency to the Truth."—John Richardson winds up a narrative of many pages, with these important observations.—"This account carries in it an admonition to us, and to Friends in future ages, into whose hands it may come, to beware of letting in the spirit of envy, prejudice, and pride of heart, which I clearly saw was that which, with too much leaning to his natural abilities and learning, was his overthrow; he not keeping to the Lord's Holy Spirit, the Life and strength of his

faithful people, and the key of true knowledge, the good remembrancer, and leader into all truth, which the Lord sees meet in his wisdom to open and lead us into. Without the help of this anointing and Holy Spirit, we are apt to be cold and forgetful in our duties towards God, and also in our love and duties one to another. But, as the measure of this Spirit is faithfully kept to and improved, we grow more and more fruitful in every good work and word, to the glory of God and comfort of our own souls; and as the salt of the earth, help to season those who are not seasoned." J. Richardson's Life, p. 130.

Note *I.*—Page 255.

William Dell, whose name has been already introduced in the earlier part of this Work, as a writer gifted with no ordinary insight into the spiritual character of the kingdom of Christ, at the close of his preface to a treatise on "The Doctrine of Baptisms," has these following remarkable words.—"But because I see this *present* generation so rooted and built up in the doctrines of men, I have the less hope that this truth [respecting the one saving baptism of Christ] will prevail with them; and therefore I appeal to the *next* generation, which will be further removed from these evils, and will be brought nearer to the word; *but especially to that people whom God hath and shall form by his Spirit for himself,—for these only will be able to make just and righteous judgment in this matter, seeing they have the Anointing to be their teacher, and the Lamb to be their light.*" And in the very conclusion of the same piece, after having fully wound up his subject, and as it were laid down the pen, he resumes it, to introduce this isolated sentence:—"Isaiah, lviii. 12. 'And they that shall be of thee,'—that is," says he, "of the church that is born of the Spirit—'shall build the old waste places,'—made such by the church that is born of the flesh—'thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations,'—by the clear revealing of Christ, his kingdom, and all his things, according to the ministration of the Spirit—'and thou shalt be called, *The repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in.*' Here Christ writes upon the forementioned church his own new name."—To what shall we attribute the peculiar congeniality and oneness of religious perception on this precise point, thus manifested in the latter expressions of Dell, and in those of Jaffray to which this Note is attached?—may it not be said, that these men were taught in the same school, were "baptized by one Spirit?"

Note *J.*—Page 256.

On the restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland in 1662, many of the ejected Presbyterian ministers, who were banished by order of the King's Council, sought an asylum "beyond the sea" in Holland. The Notes to the Diary, at pages 191, 221, 222, 223, show that several of the former associates of Jaffray were among this number; and it is clear by this last paragraph of the "Word of Exhortation," how expressly his solicitude is directed towards that class.

Note *K.*—Page 257.

The following quotation from a writer well approved among the Society, will, it is hoped, throw some light upon this subject. "At the first appearance of this people, several of them thought it their duty to go to the public places of worship, to declare to the priests or people 'the burden of the word' on their minds; mostly waiting till their worship was ended, and then delivering or attempting to deliver their sentiments in quietness, and in as few words as possible, for which they were often treated with great violence and outrage. And to palliate such treatment, irreconcilable to the professed *purity* of this period, or to the good order of civil society, great pains have been taken to describe their conduct in terms of aggravation to a heinous offence, and at this day may seem to deserve censure. Let us take a retrospective view of the manners and principles of that age, and I think we may find some cause of excuse for their seeming intrusion.

"This people were not single, at that time, in their sentiments concerning the gospel liberty of prophesying; but the Independents as well as the Baptists adopted the opinion, that the ordained ministers or pastors had not, by any ordination of Christ or the order observed amongst the primitive Christians, an *exclusive* right of speaking in the church, but that *all* properly gifted might speak 'one by one.' It had been, during the time of the civil war, and still continued to be, no unusual practice for laymen, soldiers, and others, to speak or preach in the public places of worship and elsewhere, with the connivance, if not with the approbation of the ruling powers. Oliver Cromwell, in his correspondence with the ministers of Scotland, in the year 1650, after the battle of Dunbar, vindicates the practice. Oliver, having made an offer to the ministers who had taken sanctuary in the Castle of Edinburgh or had fled, of free privilege to return to their respective parishes; the Scotch ministers, in reply, objected

his opening the pulpit doors to all intruders, by which means a flood of errors was broken in upon the nation; to which Oliver answered, 'We look upon you as *helpers* of, not *lords over* the faith of God's people:—where do you find in Scripture, that preaching is included within your function? Though an approbation from men has order in it, and may be well, yet he that hath not a better than *that*, hath none at all. I hope, He that ascended up on high, may give his gifts to whom he pleases; and if those gifts be the seal of mission, are not you envious though Eldad and Medad prophesy? You know who hath bid us covet earnestly the best gifts, but chiefly that we may prophesy; which the Apostle explains to be, a speaking to instruction, edification, and comfort—this, the instructed, edified, and comforted can best tell the energy and effect of.'—'Indeed you err through mistake of the Scriptures. Approbation is an act of convenience in respect to order; not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the gospel. Your pretended fear lest error should step in, is like the man that would keep all the wine out of the country, lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy, to deny a man the liberty he hath by nature, upon a supposition he may abuse it.' And in answer to the Governor's complaint, that men of secular employments had usurped the office of the ministry, to the scandal of the reformed churches, he queries, 'Are you troubled that *Christ is preached?* Doth it scandalize the reformed churches, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the Covenant? away with the Covenant, if it be so. I thought the Covenant and these men would have been willing, that any should speak good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no Covenant of God's approving, nor the kirk you mention, the spouse of Christ.'

"By this it appears evident, that a participation by the laity in ministerial offices, was not only allowed, but patronized by some of the leading men of that time. If then some members of this infant Society, under persuasion of duty, at times made use of the liberty allowed to others, (and to several of *themselves*, till they joined this Society,) to deliver a short exhortation, most generally at the close of their worship, to the people assembled, as a full opportunity to discharge their duty;—to give them contumelious and violent abuse on that account, was as contradictory to the professed principles of the Independents, and those free notions of civil and religious liberty, which they had been so active in disseminating, as [it was] to religion and the civilization boasted of;————" Gough's History of Friends, vol. i. p. 86, &c.

Note *L.*—Page 285.

It may be requisite to give an illustration of those numerous calumnies, represented to have been vented forth by some in that day, who stood in the character of spiritual watchmen, as Jaffray says, for the purpose of "*detaining the Truth of God in unrighteousness,*" and keeping those who embraced it "in disgust among the people"—a practice which, it is to be feared, has not altogether ceased to exist in less flagrant forms, even among some who name the name of Christ; however lamented and abhorred such conduct must be, by all his true followers.

In the 9th month, 1666, George Meldrum, accounted one of the chief ministers of Aberdeen, preached *a whole sermon expressly against the people called Quakers,* full of virulence and unjust slanders, such as, if believed, would scarcely fail to excite the indignation of his hearers against them; and to secure his discourse from refutation, he actually enjoined such of his hearers as had taken it down in writing, by no means to let the Quakers have a copy of it,—as if conscious of the falseness of his statements. Not long after, church proceedings being instituted against Alexander Jaffray in order to excommunication, some of his relations, not Friends, intimated to the Bishop, that it was irregular to excommunicate an offender, before attempts had been made to reclaim him. Upon this, the Bishop himself offered to confer with Jaffray, in the presence of Meldrum and his colleague Menzies. Jaffray said, he could not yield to this, unless he were permitted to have witnesses; as these men had repeatedly misrepresented in public, what had been said to them in private; of which he could bring proof. At length, *Friends being objected to,* Jaffray's brother and son, not Friends, were allowed to be present; when, "the Lord remarkably assisted him in declaring the Truth," and defending himself and it against their unjust allegations; so that the Bishop charged Meldrum, to give the Friends a copy of the sermon preached against them. Instead of this, however, he sent Alexander Jaffray another paper, which he called "The state of the controversy between the Protestants and the Quakers," and half a sheet containing thirty Queries for them to answer. These papers, together with the sermon, which with much difficulty was at length procured from one of his hearers, Alexander Jaffray and George Keith readily replied to; and "it had a very good service" among their neighbours.

Note *M.*—Page 287.

The Queries, which were offered to the public preachers of Aberdeen by Alexander Skene, a magistrate of that city, are pre-

ceded by some very important observations of Robert Barclay, on the subject of joining with other Christian professors in worship, by external signs of concurrence.—"If it were" says he, "their known and avowed doctrine, not to pray without the motion of the Spirit, and that, seriously holding thereunto, *they did not bind themselves to pray at certain prescribed times precisely,* (at which times they *determine* to pray, though *without* the Spirit,)—then, indeed, we might be accused of uncharitableness and pride, *if we never joined with them;* and if they so taught and practised, I doubt not but *it should be lawful for us so to do,* unless there should appear some manifest and evident hypocrisy or delusion. But seeing they profess, that they pray without the Spirit, and seeing God hath persuaded us, that *such* prayers are abominable, how can we with a safe conscience join with an abomination? That God sometimes condescends to them, we do not deny,—(albeit, now when the spiritual worship is openly proclaimed, and all are invited unto it, *the case is otherwise, than in those old times of apostasy and darkness,)*—and therefore albeit any should begin to pray in our presence, not expecting the motion of the Spirit, yet, *if it manifestly appear, that God in condescension did concur with such a one, then, according to God's will, we should not refuse to join also.* But, *this is rare;* lest, thence, they should be *confirmed* in their false principle. And albeit *this seem hard in our profession,* nevertheless it is so confirmed by the authority both of Scripture and right reason, that many, convinced thereof, *have embraced this part before other truths* which were easier, and, as they seemed to some, clearer." Apology, Prop. xi. sect. 24.—The case of Alexander Skene's convincement is then given; and his reasons for separation from those, with whom he had been associated in religious fellowship, appear in the following Queries.

Queries on Worship by Alexander Skene. "1st.—Should *any* act of God's worship be gone about, without the motions, leadings, and actings of the Holy Spirit? 2nd.—If the motions of the Spirit be *necessary* to every particular duty, whether should He be waited upon, that all our acts and words may be *according as he gives utterance and assistance?* 3rd.—Whether every one that bears the name of a Christian, or professes to be a Protestant, hath *such an uninterrupted measure thereof,* that he *may, without waiting,* go immediately about the duty? 4th.—If there be *an indisposition and unfitness at some times* for such exercises, at least as to the spiritual and lively performance of them, ought they to be performed *in that case* and *at that time?* 5th.—If any [such] duty be gone about, under pretence that it is in obedience to the external command, without the spiritual life and motion necessary,

whether such a duty, thus performed, *can in faith be expected to be accepted of God,* and not rather reckoned as a bringing of 'strange fire' before the Lord? seeing it is performed, at best, by the strength of natural and acquired parts, and not by the strength and assistance of the Holy Ghost, which was typified by the fire, that came down from heaven, which alone behoved to consume the sacrifice, and no other. 6th.—Whether [such] duties, gone about in the mere strength of natural and acquired parts, either in public or in private, be not *as really,* upon the gross matter, *an image of man's invention, as the Popish worship,* though not so gross in the outward appearance? And therefore, whether it be not as real superstition to *countenance* any worship of that nature, as it is to countenance Popish worship, though there be a difference *in the degree?* 7th.—Whether it be a ground of offence or just scandal, to countenance the worship of *those,* whose professed principle it is, *neither to speak for edification nor to pray, but as the Holy Ghost shall be pleased to assist them,* in some measure, less or more; *without which,* they rather choose to be *silent,* than to speak without this influence?"

The tone of utter aversion and prejudice, in regard to true spiritual worship, and the necessary preparation of soul for this solemn exercise, which was evidently held out, at this period, by the professed preachers of the gospel in Aberdeen, headed by their Bishop,—and which indeed gave ample occasion for the promulgation of the above *Queries,*—is the more remarkable, when contrasted with that beautifully clear stream of evangelical sentiment on this very point, given forth only about twenty years afterward, by *Henry Scougal,* a "professor of divinity" in the same place, and a son of the same Bishop. In his valuable treatise, entitled, "The Life of God in the Soul of Man," after reference to the promise of the Holy Spirit to those who sue for this inestimable gift, he thus proceeds.—"In prayer, we make the nearest approaches to God, and lie open to the influences of heaven: then it is, that the Sun of righteousness doth visit us with his directest rays, and dissipateth our darkness, and imprinteth his image on our souls." "As there is one sort of prayer, wherein we make use of the voice,—and another wherein, though we utter no sound, yet we conceive the expressions and form the words, as it were, in our minds; so there is a third and more sublime kind of prayer, wherein the soul takes a higher flight, and having collected all its forces by long and serious meditation, it darteth itself, (if I may so speak) towards God in sighs and groans, *and thoughts too big for expression.* As when, after a deep contemplation of the Divine perfections, appearing in all his works of wonder, it ad-

dresseth itself unto him in the profoundest adoration of his majesty and glory:—or when, after sad reflections on its vileness and miscarriages, it prostrates itself before him with the greatest confusion and sorrow, not daring to lift up its eyes, *or utter one word in his presence:*—or when, having well cousidered the beauty of holiness, and the unspeakable felicity of those that are truly good, *it panteth after God,* and sendeth up such vigorous and ardent desires, *as no words can sufficiently express;* continuing and repeating each of these acts, as long as it finds itself upheld by the force and impulse of the previous meditation.

"This mental prayer is, *of all other,* the most effectual to purify the soul, and dispose it unto a holy and religious temper, and may be termed *the great secret of devotion,* and one of *the most powerful instruments of the divine life:* and, it may be, that the Apostle hath a peculiar respect unto it, when he saith, that *the Spirit helpeth our infirmities, making intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered,* or, as the original may bear, *that cannot be worded.*" p. 98, 99.

Note *N.*—Page 288.

Of Meldrum, the historian of the church of Scotland, Cruickshank says, "This great man was *remarkably useful,* with his colleague, Mr. Menzies, in Aberdeen, against the Quakers and Jesuits," vol. 1, p. 150. The same author, nine pages further on, has another sentence relating to the Friends, which does not seem capable of bearing a very favourable construction.—"On the 2nd of June, 1663, they made *a very good act against the Quakers;* but the bishops gave the council so much to do against the Presbyterian Nonconformists, that *these people were suffered to rest in quiet;* for they mightily increased during this reign."

The next paragraph of the Memoirs will show, that, *at least* the Bishop of Aberdeen, was not altogether an idle spectator of the success of this *new heresy,* and that by no means was he wanting in the attempt to give the King's Council some substantial work in this line of persecution, though their hands were already so full.

Note *O.*—Page 301.

Among the early opponents of the principles of religious order laid down in this work of Barclay's, was William Rogers, of Bristol, and his followers. Much reproach and invective was dealt out by these separatists against him; but, on a conference being held with this individual, in 1677, at Robert Barclay's re-

quest, William Rogers could not substantiate his arguments against the system, and acknowledged he had mistaken the import of these principles. Yet afterward, this man and his adherents persisted in controverting the very same views, spreading papers abroad, unknown to Robert Barclay, and personally reflecting on him; this induced the latter, to write a Vindication of his Treatise on Discipline, by way of explanation; which, certainly, exhibits the author in an amiable point of view. See Gough's History, vol. iii. p. 16; also Barclay's Life.

An original manuscript letter on this subject, addressed by George Fox to Robert Barclay near two years after, has come into the possession of the Author of these pages, which may be worthy the perusal of Friends in the present day. It is as follows.

"Dear Robert,

"With my dear love to thee and thy father, and to George Keith, with all the rest of Friends in the holy Seed of Life, that is over all, and changeth not, but reigneth, *the First and the Last;* in whom you have life and salvation! And so, my desire is, that you all may be valiant for the Truth upon the earth, and spread it abroad; and that those who are brought into the Truth, may keep in the holy order of it, in the glorious gospel of Christ, the heavenly Man; so that the Lord may be glorified in all your assemblies, and Christ may have his joy in you all, and 'your joy may be full' *in Him,* who *draweth up to God.* And so, the Lord God Almighty, in his glorious power, preserve you all,—and *over all that which makes to suffer.*

"And, dear R. B., I desire thee to send *the little epistle,* with the substance of this, to the prisoners and to Friends. And this unruly spirit of J. S. and W. R. and J. W. I saw, *as I was at prayer to the Lord for Friends in my chamber,*—that it was *for the trial of Friends,* as the *other* that had risen before; and when it hath done its work, *it will pass the way after those that have gone before it. And I saw Friends, sitting low, and wet, and watered with the dew of heaven.* So, it is for the trial of Friends,—of *their standing to God,* and of *their keeping their habitation,* and of *holding the Head, with the light, grace, spirit and truth, power and faith, that cometh from Christ.* And so, *all will be good in the end to all God's people.*

"I am sorry, that William Rogers should do so basely with thee, and that, after he was satisfied, and a paper was signed,—for him to send thy name again in his book up and down the nation——it was five or six months, before I could get a copy of it; and yet it

so spread. So, dear R. B., I do send thee this, [some extracts;] but if thou wast here at Swarthmore, thou might see the book, which might be well, and I should be glad to see thee here. So, in haste, with my love,

"G. F."

"29th of 1st month, 1679."

The accompanying *little epistle* must not be withheld, though, in this place, out of date: it is as follows.

George Fox to the Prisoners.

"Swarthmore, 1st month, 1678-9.

"My dear Friends,

"Who are sufferers for the Lord Jesus' sake, and for the testimony of his truth! The Lord God Almighty uphold you with his power, and support you in all your trials and sufferings, and give you patience and content in his will; that you may stand valiant for Christ and his truth upon the earth, over the persecuting, destroying spirit, which maketh to suffer,—[even] *in Christ,* who bruiseth his head,—*in whom* ye have both election and salvation. The Lord hath done much for the sake of his elect, as may be seen from the foundation of the world, and as may be seen throughout the Scriptures of truth; and *those who touch them, touch the apple of God's eye,* they are so tender to him. And therefore, it is good for all God's suffering children to trust in the Lord, and to wait upon him; for these shall be as Mount Zion, that cannot be removed from Christ their Rock and salvation, who is the foundation of all God's elect, the prophets and apostles, and God's people now, and to the end: glory to the Lord and the Lamb over all!

"And *do not think the time long,* for all time is in the Father's hand, his power; and therefore *keep the word of patience,* and exercise that gift, and the Lord strengthen you in your sufferings, in his holy spirit of faith, amen!

"G. F."

Note *P.*—Page 303.

"A Seasonable Warning and serious exhortation to, and expostulation with the Inhabitants of Aberdeen, concerning this present dispensation and day of God's living visitation towards them.

"Great, unutterably great, O ye Inhabitants! is the love of God, which flows in my heart towards you; and in bowels of unspeakable compassion am I opened,—am I enlarged unto you, in

the sight and sense of your conditions, which the Lord hath discovered and revealed unto me. O that your eyes were opened, that ye might see and behold *this day of the Lord!* and that your ears were unstopped, to hear his voice, that crieth aloud and calleth one and all of you to REPENTANCE! and that your hearts were softened and inclined to discern and perceive this blessed hour of his present visitation, which is come unto you! He hath lifted up a standard in the midst of you, and among your brethren; he hath called already a remnant, and enrolled them under his banner, and he is calling all to come; he hath not left one 'without a witness:' blessed are they that receive him and hear him, in this day of his appearance! He hath sent forth, and is daily sending forth his servants and messengers, to invite you to come and partake with him of the supper,—of the feast which he hath prepared. And among many others, whom at sundry times he hath caused to sound forth his testimony, I also have, in the name, and power, and authority of God, proclaimed his everlasting gospel among you, and preached, and held forth the glad tidings of this glorious dispensation,—*which is Christ, manifesting and revealing himself in and by his Light and Spirit in the hearts of all men, to lead them out of all unrighteousness and filthiness both of flesh and spirit, unto all righteousness, truth, holiness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.*

"But, because many of you have despised this day, and as ye have made merry over *God's witness in your hearts,* not liking *there* to entertain him in his meek, lowly, yet lovely appearance; so have ye despised, mocked, and rejected that which testifieth to this witness *without* you. Therefore was I commanded of the Lord God, to pass through your streets covered with sackcloth and ashes, calling you to repentance; that ye might yet more be awakened and alarmed, to take notice of *the Lord's voice* unto you, and not to despise these 'things which belong to your peace,' while your day lasteth, lest hereafter they be 'hid from your eyes.' And the command of the Lord concerning this thing, came unto me that very morning as I awoke, and the burden thereof was very great, yea, seemed almost insupportable unto me;—for such a thing, until that very moment, had never before entered me, not in the most remote consideration. And some whom I called, to declare to them this thing, can bear witness, how great was the agony of my spirit,—how I besought the Lord with tears, that this cup might pass away from me!—yea, how the pillars of my tabernacle were shaken, and how exceedingly my bones trembled, until I freely gave up unto the Lord's will.

"And this was the end and tendency of my testimony, *to call you to repentance* by this signal and singular step; which I, as to my own will and inclination, was as unwilling to be found in, as the worst and most wicked of you can be averse from receiving or laying it to heart. Let all and every one of you, in whom there is yet alive the least regard to God or his fear, consider and weigh this matter in the presence of God, and by the Spirit of Jesus Christ in your hearts, *which makes all things manifest*;—search and examine every one his own soul, how far this warning and voice of the Lord is applicable unto them; and how great need they have to be truly humbled in their spirits, returning to the Lord in their inward parts with such true and unfeigned repentance, as answers to the outward clothing of sackcloth and being covered with ashes. And, in the fear and name of the Lord, I charge all upon this occasion, to beware of a slight, frothy, jeering, mocking spirit. For though such may be permitted to insult for a season; yet God will turn their laughter into howling, and will laugh when their calamity cometh: such are seen to be in one spirit with those, who spat in the face of the Lord Jesus, and buffeting him, bid him prophesy, who smote him.

"Therefore, consider, O ye Inhabitants! and be serious, standing in fear: [for] where are ye, who are called Christians? among whom it is become a wonder, a stone of stumbling, or matter of mockery, or a ground of reproach, for one in the name of the Lord to invite you to repentance in sackcloth and ashes! Would not the heathen condemn you in this thing, and will not Nineveh stand up in judgment against you? How is it, that ye who are called Christians, can willingly give room to every idle mountebank, and can suffer your minds to be drawn out to behold these sinful divertisements, which indeed divert the mind from the serious sense of God's fear? The people can be gathered there, and neither the magistrates complain of tumult, nor yet preachers nor professors cry out against it, as delusion or madness. O my Friends! consider; can there be any more strongly deluded, than for people daily to acknowledge and confess in words, [that] they are sinners and sinning; and to startle at *that*, which did [in] so lively [a manner] represent unto them, what they own to be their condition? Were it in good earnest, or were it from a true sense of your sins, that you so frequently seem to acknowledge them, ye would not despise nor overlook that which calleth you to repentance for it. How is it, that you can so confidently array yourselves in all manner of gaudy and superfluous apparel, and exceed in lustful powderings and perfumes; and yet are ashamed

and amazed at sackcloth and ashes, which, according to your own acknowledgment, is so suitable to your states? Is not this *to glory in your shame, and to be ashamed of that which ought to be, and would be your greatest glory*—[even] true and unfeigned repentance?

"I shall add that which, upon this occasion, I declared unto you,—I was for a sign from the Lord unto you; and desire ye may not be among those that 'wonder and perish,' but rather 'repent and be saved.'—And this is my testimony unto you, whether you will 'hear or forbear,'—I have peace with my God in what I have done, and am satisfied that his requirings I have answered in this thing. I have not sought *yours*, but *you*; I have not coveted your gold or silver, or any thing else; nor do I retain or entertain the least hatred, grudge, or evil will towards any within or without your gates; but continue in pure and unfeigned love towards all and every one of you, even those who do most despise or reject me and my testimony;—being ready to 'bless those that curse,' and to 'do good to those that despitefully use' me; and to be spent in the will of the Lord *for your sakes*, that your souls may be saved, and God over all may be glorified! for which I travail and cry before the throne of grace, as becometh a servant of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"ROBERT BARCLAY."

"This came before me to signify unto you by writing, at Ury, the 12th of the 1st month, 1672."

NOTE *Q*.—Page 309.

In this place, it will be proper to mention, that the facts thus substantiated by the united testimony of many witnesses, themselves the objects of this course of violent treatment, receive all that confirmation from the history of the place, which could, in the nature of the case, be expected to be handed down respecting a people at once so insignificant and despised, so misrepresented and abused. The intelligent author of the "Annals of Aberdeen," has furnished the public with such corroborative evidence as he possessed, of the unjust and unworthy line of conduct pursued in ancient time by the predecessors of some, who are now, it is believed, honourable for their dedication to better principles and feelings. He gives the following candid, and as far as it goes, accurate outline of the commencement of this persecution.

"In the year 1663, the religion of the Quakers began to gain ground among some of the inhabitants. It had, by this time, made considerable progress in England, under the famous George

Fox and James Nayler; and its enthusiasm having spread to this place, occasioned no little disturbance both to the magistrates and to the ecclesiastics. Mr. George Keith, William Nepper, ship-master, and William Stewart, three citizens, having broken off all connexion with the established church, and openly avowed the principles of the Quakers, the magistrates considered that this religious innovation deserved their serious attention. They convened these people before them; condemned them to be immediately conducted out of the town by sergeants, and *prohibited the inhabitants from harbouring them in their houses, under heavy penalties.* These severities they bore with their usual patience, persisting in holding occasional meetings in the town, and increasing the number of their proselytes. The magistrates, alarmed at their success in gaining converts, and, *perhaps, instigated by the clergy,* without further inquiry, issued their orders to apprehend all male Quakers at their next convention, to imprison them in the gaol, and to shut up their meeting-house. Such, however, was their enthusiasm, that they were not to be intimidated by these rigorous measures. They persevered in the profession of their religious doctrines, and *were subjected to every indignity of imprisonment and disfranchisement.* Having appropriated a piece of ground, on the east side of the Gallowgate, to the interment of their dead, they buried the bodies in it, without any religious ceremony; but this having attracted the attention of the magistrates, they ordered these to be raised, and the walls of their burial-place to be demolished.—To all these oppressions they submitted without the least murmur." vol. i. p. 254. In a note, attached to the words "perhaps instigated by the clergy," the same author appends the following circumstance. "Note.—Thomas Milne, shoemaker, having become a convert to the Quakers, was called before the Church Session; but, having persevered in maintaining his principles, was remitted to the three ministers of the town, to use their influence with him; which seems to have had very little effect, and the matter was dropt.—Records of the Church Session, 25th Nov. 1661."————"In the year 1674, Thomas Dockery and William Gelly, two of these inoffensive people, were imprisoned, under a warrant from the magistrates, upon a charge which was brought against them, *for deriding the holiness of the kirk, by calling it a steeple-house, and for attending their conventicle.* These men remained in gaol for some time; but a representation being made to the Lords of the Privy Council, they were ordered, by a letter from the Lord Chancellor, to be liberated. After this period, the Quakers appear to have been allowed to

practise their devotions, and religious duties agreeably to the principles which they professed, and to bury their dead according to their own custom, without molestation."

This concluding observation, is certainly not borne out by the vouchers which that people hold.

Note *R.*—Page 317.

Of John Swintoune, we read nothing more in the Memoirs of the Friends in Scotland; the few additional particulars which have come to the hand of the Author, he subjoins in the present Note.

At an early page of this Appendix, we have had before us in the career of George Keith, a sorrowful illustration of the continual necessity there is, for every one that "*thinketh* he standeth," to "*take heed* lest he fall." We have seen, that, while he walked in the light of the Lord, and moved in His strength and wisdom, maintaining the good fight of faith, in all humility, patience, and watching unto prayer, George Keith was kept an eminent and serviceable instrument. But so soon as ever he forsook the Lord, trusted in his own heart, and leaned to his own understanding, he was left to his own devices; notwithstanding his great endowments, he became weak and even weaker than other men, inconsistent with himself, confused in his views, and unsanctified in his spirit.—With regard to the individual now under notice, it may be remembered, that few men of his day and country were blessed with greater advantages, or had better worldly prospects than John Swintoune. His influence had been great with those, under whose appointment he at one time served, when it might be almost said, *he led the counsels of Scotland;* while, on the other hand, his very enemies and those who sought his life, were struck down with sympathy and admiration at the way in which he bowed under his reverses. Favoured with that high and extensive view, which the Society of Friends have taken, of the spirituality of the gospel dispensation, and under a deep sense of its value, he had been the means of engrafting a stem of Truth in his native land; he had helped forward its budding, in the hearts of such, as a Provost Jaffray and a Colonel Barclay,—men of a noble stamp, of an excellent spirit, whose sons and successors were the valiants of the Society in that country in after time. Expounding unto these, like Aquila, "the way of God more perfectly," he might be called an antecessor and leader of this people in Scotland. He had likewise tasted his share of those various indignities, which abundantly befell all, who counted it their joy and crown to follow the footsteps of the grace of Jesus.—Yet

after all this,—he stood not "steadfast, immovable," he did not continue in this grace of God, but fell from it,—nay, he frustrated it,—nay, he turned it into an occasion for actual immorality, for adultery. Suffice it to say—(and it cannot be properly withheld)—his case, like that of David, which is recorded for our warning and instruction, gave "great occasion for the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme," made the hearts of the righteous sad, and though followed by swift conviction and unfeigned penitence, was most probably the means of crippling him in his spiritual standing for the remainder of his days. He was of course excluded from the fellowship of his brethren in religious profession, and they testified against his conduct accordingly; judging it, as they express themselves, to be a duty to recommend that *a visible distance and separation be kept as to near converse,* until repentance be further manifested. Yet, when he had given full evidence to their satisfaction, not only of the sincerity of his sorrow, but of his restoration and settlement as a sound member of Christ, there is little doubt he again partook of the unity of his friends.

A letter of his now lies before the Author, addressed to Margaret Fox, the wife of George Fox, but previously the wife of Judge Fell, who possessed great influence throughout the Society, and maintained a large correspondence with its members. It is dated the 8th of the 10th month, 1673, perhaps not much above a year subsequent to his fall. He was then in London, having paid his correspondent a visit at Swarthmore Hall, in Lancashire, on his way from Scotland. He speaks with the freedom of friendship upon the posture of political affairs at that juncture, as they might be likely to affect the interest of Friends, and of the proceedings that were then before Parliament in relation to liberty of conscience; having, that day, been in attendance "at the Hall." He concludes his sheet with the endearing salutation, so usual among brethren and sisters in the Truth, and so worthy of them,—that of love. But the best proof of the peaceful condition of mind, he was favoured through redeeming mercy to arrive at, is furnished in two precious documents, one of them written by himself during his last illness; and the other by his widow, after his decease. They are, with some slight verbal amendment, as follow.

"A Testimony left by John Swintoune of Swintoune."

"I, John Swintoune of Swintoune, being surrounded with weakness of body, so that there is more probability than to the contrary, that I may lay it down; therefore, in the seriousness and sense that becomes a dying man, I this write.

"That my faith and belief firmly is and hath been, that the contemned people called Quakers are *a blessed people*, and their *testimony*, as to every part and parcel of it, is *blessed*, and may not be foregone, one hoof of it; but is to run and be *glorious*, even *to the ends of the earth*, and is for *the healing of the nations*, as it shall prevail—which it shall not fail to do, (the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it,) to the shame and confusion and disappointment of all those, that look upon them and it with an evil eye.

"And it is my advice, and desire, and request to all my relations and acquaintance, that, in the fear and dread of God, they leave off having any hand in, nor be in the least consenting to *any hardship* put upon *that blessed people;* but rather travail to cleave to them *in their hearts*, whose heart is not raised to stand up *openly* for them; for, as the Lord God *hath pleaded their cause* and stood by them, so he *will yet more abundantly*, as ever he did Israel in the land of Zoar, and *no weapon formed against them shall prosper*, and the great ones of the earth he will reprove for their sakes.

"Writ and subscribed with my own hand, at Borthwick, this 15th of the 2nd month, 1679.

(Sic subscribitur) "J. S."

His Wife's Testimony concerning him and the Truth.

"Let *substance* [Christ the living, eternal substance,] be the aim of every one: oh, keep to it, every one that knows it; for a needful time may come! Oh, travail for it every one that knows it not! let your cry be, that you may come into acquaintance with it, and be joined unto it, and *be one with it for ever!* for nothing below this, can support in the needful time.

"In this living faith and principle of life, my dearly beloved husband *laid down his outward man, in peace*, and had in measure the possession of it before he went hence. Both before he fell into his weakness of body, and many a time in his deep exercises, he gave many a true and living testimony to this ever blessed Truth, which is *Life and Light;*—and it was *his* life, and is the life of all that believe in it, and walk in obedience to it. And, to the truth hereof, I can set my seal,—and was one with him in spirit; so that our nearness was not only in the outward, which was to be separated, but *in that which can never be separated;*—which is the life of *all the faithful* in this day, and in all ages. So, it is *with the Father*, and *with the Son*, and *with the spirits of just men made perfect*, that our *union* and *fellowship* is: *here* is our strength, at this day,

—*in Christ, the substance and fulness,* and *fulfiller of all in us.* Here *self is of no reputation,* nor *outwards trusted in;* for they must *all* come to an end, how *glorious* soever they may be in their day or age, whether persons or *professions.* Nay, I can say, of a truth, *the profession of Truth will not serve in the needful time,*—it *must* be the *possession of substance,—that* to be our *inheritance,* our *strength,* our *life for ever!* And when we find any thing separate from *this,* then—trouble and anguish of spirit; as one said, in his day, 'Thou didst hide thy face, and I was troubled'; Psal. xxx. 7. but, THROUGH JUDGMENT, REDEMPTION IS WITNESSED, and through waiting in the light, life springs in the inward parts, and strength is renewed. So, *here is the Rock of ages, a Foundation of many generations,*—oh, living praise! oh, everlasting renown and eternal thanksgiving be sounded forth unto *the Author and Finisher of our faith,* which is, CHRIST JESUS in us, *the hope of glory,*—blessed for ever, and for evermore!

"FRANCES SWINTOUNE."

"Borthwick, 22nd of 6th month, 1679."

NOTE *S.*—Page 322.

The small estate of Kingswells, lying about five miles west of Aberdeen, came into the possession of the Jaffrays in the year 1587, being purchased, as the family records state, by Alexander Jaffray, bailie or magistrate of Aberdeen, who married Christian Burnet, *daughter of the then proprietor of Leys,* and died 1645. His son, Alexander, married Magdalen Erskine, daughter of Erskine of *Pittodrie,* and had a son Alexander, *the author of the present Diary,* born 1614. He married Jane Dune 1632, by whom he had a son Alexander, who died 1672. His second wife, Sarah Cant, whom he married in 1647, died a few months after him, in 1673. Their eldest son, Andrew, born 1650, married Christian, daughter of Alexander Skene, of the family of Skene of Skene, and had Lilias, Margaret, Alexander, Christian, Andrew, Sarah, John, Patience, James, and Anna. He died 1726. His son Alexander, grandson of the Diarist, in 1700, married *Christian Barclay,* daughter of "the Apologist," and had ten children.

Through an error in transcribing, at p. 176 of this volume, the name of Jaffray's *mother* was said to be *Burnet,* whereas it should have been *grandmother,* as here given.

The language of Richard Claridge, a learned and eminent member of the Society of Friends, is well worthy attention in this place: it was written on occasion of his acknowledging the receipt of the *genealogy* of the Claridge family, which had been taken out

of the Herald's Office by some of the relations, and by one of them kindly forwarded to him—"There is a *pedigree,* namely, *the Christian,* which is noble indeed, and is worthy of our most diligent search and earnest inquiry. To be the children of God, and co-heirs with Christ,—*to have our robes washed in the blood of the Lamb, and to be made kings and priests unto God;*—and to know this *ourselves,* by the testimony of the Holy Spirit in our hearts, whereby we can cry, Abba, Father!—this, this, my dear kinsman, is far above all in this sublunary world! O let this piece of *divine and spiritual heraldry,* be our main care and concern; omitting no opportunity, under those blessed means that are so plentifully afforded us, of *making our calling and election sure.*" Claridge's Life and Posthumous Works, p. 315.

Note *T.*—Page 327.

Treatment received by Friends in their worship, and their support under it.

"But when people meet together, and their worship consisteth not in such outward acts, *and they depend not upon any one's speaking,* but merely sit down to wait upon God, and to be gathered out of all visibles, and to feel the Lord in spirit; none of these things can hinder them: of which we may say of a truth, we are sensible witnesses. For when the magistrates, stirred up by the malice and envy of our opposers, have used all means possible—and yet in vain—to deter us from meeting together, and that, openly and publicly, in our own hired houses for that purpose; both death, banishments, imprisonments, finings, beatings, whippings, and other such devilish inventions have proved ineffectual to terrify us from our holy assemblies. And we having thus oftentimes purchased our liberty to meet by deep sufferings, our opposers have then taken another way; by turning in upon us the worst and wickedest people, yea, the very offscourings of men; who, by all manner of inhuman, beastly, and brutish behaviour, have sought to provoke us, weary us, and molest us—but in vain. It would be almost incredible to declare, and indeed a shame, that among men pretending to be Christians it should be mentioned, what things of this kind men's eyes have seen, and I myself with others have shared of, in suffering! *There,* they have often beaten us, and cast water and dirt upon us; *there,* they have danced, leaped, sung, and spoken all manner of profane and ungodly words; offered violence and shameful behaviour to grave women and virgins; jeered, mocked, and scoffed, asking us *If the Spirit was not yet come,*—and much more, which were tedious

here to relate:—and *all this,* while we have been seriously and silently sitting together, and waiting upon the Lord.

"So that, by these things, our inward and spiritual fellowship with God, and one with another in the pure life of righteousness, *hath not been hindered.* But, on the contrary, the Lord knowing our sufferings and reproaches for his testimony's sake, hath caused his power and glory *more to abound among us,* and hath mightily refreshed us by the sense of his love, which hath filled our souls;—and so much the rather, as we found ourselves gathered *into the name of the Lord,* which is *the strong tower of the righteous,* whereby we felt ourselves sheltered from receiving any inward hurt through their malice,—and also, that he had delivered us from that vain name and profession of Christianity, under which our opposers were not ashamed to bring forth these bitter and cursed fruits.—Yea, sometimes, in the midst of this tumult and opposition, God would powerfully move some or other of us by his Spirit, both to testify of that joy, which, notwithstanding their malice, we enjoyed, and [also] powerfully to declare, in the evidence and demonstration of the [same] Spirit, against their folly and wickedness; so [that] the power of Truth hath brought them to some measure of quietness and stillness, and stopped the impetuous streams of their fury and madness. That, as ever of old Moses by his rod divided the waves of the Red sea, that the Israelites might pass; so, God hath thus by his Spirit made a way for us, in the midst of this raging wickedness, peaceably to enjoy and possess Him, and accomplish our worship to him:—so that sometimes, upon such occasions, several of our opposers and interrupters have hereby been convinced of the Truth, and gathered from being persecutors to be sufferers with us." Barclay's Apology, Prop. xi. Sect. 13.

Note *U.*—Page 330.

In the daily intercourse of private life, there is no doubt, Robert Barclay had abundant occasion given him, (though in a less notorious and permanent manner than the public arena of controversy,)—to evince his love to the cause he had espoused,—as well as his deep and clear knowledge of the truth of it, by the exercise of those unusual qualifications he had received for declaring and defending it. Many of his relations are stated to have been Roman Catholics; others of them, we may conclude, belonged to the Presbyterian and Episcopal bodies.—The Writer of these sheets, when at Ury, discovered in the library *a thick quarto volume in manuscript,* of between 300 and 400 closely written

pages, bound in leather, and entitled, "Questions proposed by Mr. Charles Gordon, concerning the Quakers' principles, to Robert Barclay: with his answers thereunto, and Mr. Charles his considerations of the said answers: Copied out of Mr. Charles his papers by his brother, Mr. Robert Gordon; 1678." The date of this correspondence is concluded to have been at least as early as 1670, when the first of Barclay's publications came out. These Gordons were his uncles; and the latter, Robert, appears to have lived at Cluny, a few miles distant from Aberdeen. There is, in this *mass of deeply polemical theology,* enough to show the intricate labyrinth of words and of notions, in which most religious professors of the age were involved; and in these metaphysical niceties, Charles Gordon proves himself to have been, indeed, *thoroughly furnished.* Robert Gordon, too, must have been a disputant *of no mean account,* at least in the estimation of the college students of Aberdeen; or they would not have *brought him in,* when they raised a story, about his appointing a dispute with his nephew, which, they said, the latter *out of fear* had deserted. R. B.'s Works, fol. p. 670. Thus closely pressed upon and beset on all sides, the early Friends generally, and this Friend in particular, must have found it hard, and even almost incessant work, to have replied to all the objections raised against their sentiments and practice. In allusion to this part of Barclay's career, the writer of his life, in the "Biographia Britannica," observes, "Though it might be conceived, that so many undertakings, within so narrow a compass of time, must have *wholly* taken him up, and left him not so much as *a moment* to spare; yet, it is certain, that at this very time, he was meditating his great work, [the Apology.]"

But it cannot be considered, that these undertakings are likely to have, by any means, comprehended *all* that the energies of Robert Barclay's mind were employed upon. From some memoranda in his own hand-writing, it would seem far from improbable, that he had some design and *plan* of a *History of the Church.*

Note *V.*—Page 350.

At this page, there is allusion to a letter, addressed by Friends to George Melvill, who had been appointed by the Commissioners of the Scottish Privy Council, to distrain the property of the prisoners, in payment of the fines decreed against them. It appears, the Commissioners were offended at the letter, and looked upon it as an instance of great provocation in the prisoners. This was not surprising; nor, on the other hand, was it

surprising, that *they* should have *so written.* It would have too much interrupted the narrative, to have interposed this letter in the body of the work; nor is there contained in it aught, but what we might expect under such circumstances,—a plain, but solid expostulation: original documents, however, even on ordinary subjects and of no extraordinary stamp, occasionally throw a very material interest and light upon past transactions, giving often a just insight into the springs of character and conduct. It is here subjoined.

"George Melvill,

"Being informed that thou hast undertaken that ungodly and unchristian employment, to poind out goods for our keeping meetings to wait upon the Lord and to worship him; we have found freedom to lay it before thee,—that it is the duty of every one who professes the name of a Christian, to consider *by what spirit they are led,* in all their actions and undertakings. For, it is certain, there are but two spirits, by which all the inhabitants of the earth are led in their thoughts, words, and actions; either the Holy Spirit of Jesus, that leads into all truth and righteousness, or the spirit of the world, which is [the spirit of] the devil. Accordingly, we exhort thee, in God's fear, to weigh and consider, *which of these is thy leader in this undertaking.* If it be the Lord, thou mayst judge by the principle it comes from, and his light in the conscience will discover it unto thee. And if it be from Satan, who is the god of this world,—thy covetousness and fear of men, more than the fear of God,—*that Light* will clear it to thee. Thou must acknowledge, that whoever are serving the devil, are enemies to God; and God, in his own time, will recompense every man according to the deeds done in the body. And though a little profit or gain, or satisfying any corrupt affection, may be for a season *sweet as honey in the mouth,* yet ere long it will be *as gravel in the belly.* And when the Lord shall enter into judgment with thee, it will not excuse thee, that thou wast forced to it by the threats of *great* men, or wast otherwise necessitated; for all *that* is but the fruit of an unbelieving heart, which knows not the power of God, nor his faithfulness,—that he is able and will certainly reward every one as they have sown, whether they 'sow to the flesh' or 'to the Spirit.'

"We must tell thee, that we have had such frequent proofs of the Lord's *owning us and his Truth professed by us,* that there are few of the instruments of our sufferings, but have sometimes met with evidences of the Lord's displeasure against them; as we can

give instances, not only in England and in New England, but even very remarkable ones in this place,—though little regarded by those, *who observe not the works of God, nor 'the operation of his hands.'* And this is no strange thing; for the Lord hath said to his people, 'He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eye.' Zech. ii. 8.—There are many who are far short of thy outward deportment, that would have been loath to have undertaken such an employment; and we are persuaded, even in the eyes of sober men, this will make thy name to stink, and stain thy reputation as a man, and put such a blot upon thee that thou wilt not rub off. Thou shalt know, our friends in England have published to the world in print their sufferings, and have manifested the cruelties and unjust dealings, and the instruments thereof, to be read and seen of all men, for the honour of the Truth, and the convincing of those that otherwise lay little of this to heart. *And what if, ere long, there may somewhat of this proceed from us:* for there is nothing of this kind, that as yet has slipped us, of being put upon record; and thou mayst judge what savour this may have in after ages, when, even in this also, thou shalt be recorded for thy unjust doing towards us.

"We write not this out of any fear of what thou or any else can do against us; for we are serving the Lord and are his people; and through his grace and strength assisting, *shall rejoice to be counted worthy to suffer for his name*—not only the spoil of our goods, but the worst that devils and men shall be permitted to do, because of so blessed a testimony as we hold. For, we believe *nothing shall befall us, but that which shall have a tendency to the advancement of his blessed Truth:*—and who will not willingly suffer for such blessed ends, that hath any true measure of the love of God in them? But if thou shalt engage to be an instrument of our persecution, we desire thou mayst look over Scripture records, and see what the Spirit of the Lord testifies concerning Cain, the first persecutor of his brother, because his worship was accepted of the Lord, and not his own; also how it was with Pharaoh and his people, for hinderiug the Lord's people from going to worship him. And consider, that, in the gospel times, *none did ever persecute but the antichristian spirit,* nor did impose upon men's consciences but the beast mentioned in Revelation, xiii. 16, 17; who caused all ranks of men to receive his mark, and in other respects had no common privilege with other men, so as to buy or sell. Remember, that in Galatians, iv. 29, the Apostle declares, 'But as then, he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now.' We suppose, *thou* wouldst

not be satisfied that any should do so to *thee*. Now as this we can say in the presence of God and man, so we remain,

"Thy Friends."

Note *W*.—Page 353.

Elizabeth, Princess Palatine of the Rhine, was the eldest daughter of Frederick the 5th, Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia, by Elizabeth, daughter of King James the 1st of England. This excellent Princess possessed only a small territory; but she governed it with great judgment, and attention to the happiness of her subjects; on which account, she was greatly beloved and respected by them, as well as by many persons of learning and virtue, not resident in her dominions. "Her meekness and humility appeared to me extraordinary;"—says William Penn, who knew her well, and has left an account of her in his *No Cross, No Crown;*—"she never considered the *quality*, but the *merit*, of the people she entertained. Though she kept no sumptuous table in her *own* court, she spread the tables of the poor in their solitary cells. Abstemious in herself, and in apparel void of all vain ornaments. I must needs say, her mind had a *noble* prospect; her eye was to a better and more lasting inheritance than can be found below: which made her often to despise the greatness of courts, and learning of the schools, of which she was an extraordinary judge." On one occasion she said to William Penn, "*It is a hard thing to be faithful to what one knows. O, the way is strait! I am afraid, I am not weighty enough in my spirit to walk in it.*"—"She lived till about 60 years of age, and then departed this life at her own house in Herwerden, in the year 1680; as much lamented, as she had been beloved by her people."

The correspondence stated to have been maintained between this Princess and Robert Barclay, is noticed by his *grandson*, in the Account of his family, now before the Author. He remarks, "Though I have many more of the said Princess's letters, and copies of my grandfather's answers, I shall refer to the originals, for those who want to see them." These valuable documents, the Author, by favour of the present proprietor of Ury, has searched for—but in vain.

Note *X*.—Page 410.

It is believed, that the present will prove the most eligible occasion of reviving "An Expostulatory Epistle, directed to Robert Macquare, and delivered to him at Rotterdam," where he then resided: it bears the date of 1678, and the signature of *Lilias Skene*.

Of Robert Macquare, some information was given in the Diary of Jaffray, at p. 168, as well as in the Appendix which follows it. With regard to his female correspondent, it may be remembered, she had been held in very unusual estimation among the worthiest, as well as the highest in profession, of the citizens of Aberdeen. She however found, as related in these Memoirs, at p. 284, the peace of her enlightened and enlarged mind, to consist in joining the Society of Friends; by this act, more completely *taking up the cross to self*, than she had hitherto seen the need of, especially with regard to its *more refined* appearances and workings. Thus, she was reduced to sit down as at the feet of Jesus, and learn of him *in all things*, who is "meek and lowly in heart;" herein "proving what is acceptable unto the Lord," through a deep searching of soul, and a continued subjection of her own spirit to his. The ensuing Epistle bears abundant token, that she was no "forgetful hearer" in the school of Christ, "but a doer of the work," not "ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the Truth;"—one who, ceasing from an undue *leaning upon man*, or unlawful *trust* even *in princes*, had attained to *more understanding* in "the mystery of godliness" *than all her teachers*.—No mere admiration of the contents of this Piece would have prevailed for its insertion here,—more especially as Robert Barclay has given it a place in one of his publications,—had not its tendency been, in every part, strikingly to develop *the work and character of that day*,—also, the spirit of those, who had to contend thus earnestly for the faith and liberty of the gospel.

Expostulatory Epistle to Robert Macquare.

"Friend,

"My tender love and sympathy has been great in times past towards many of the Nonconformists, who were suffering for conscience sake, and not for interest espousing that opinion. And thou being one of these, wast often very near to me; notwithstanding I knew, that generally the Nonconformists are more imbittered and prejudiced against us who are called Quakers, than against any other men. Yet this I often construed to flow from misinformation, they being so little conversant among us. And your being so *shy*, was but like the disciples in a storm; who seeing their Master appear in a manner they had not seen him before, though he was coming nearer for their deliverance, yet cried out through fear, as if it had been the appearance of some evil spirit. At other times, I have looked upon the great prejudice many had against us, as answerable to Christ's saying, 'No man having drunk old wine, straightway desireth new, for he saith, The old is better'

"Such constructions have hitherto, and do yet cause me to bear with you, as well as to love that which is good amongst you, wherever it appeareth. And because of this love towards thee, I am the more concerned at what thou hast lately published. For though my acquaintance and intimacy with thee, was not so great as others, yet it was during a very serious season with us both, as I well remember; *thou being then shut up close prisoner, and daily in expectation of the sentence of death.* And I retain the fresh sense of thy deliverance from such a situation; so that it was, and still is (with many such occasions, wherein the Lord hath prepared my heart, and bended his ear,) a sweet encouragement to trust him, as well as a singular engagement on me to wait for the manifestations of his will at all times.

"But oh! since I heard of and read thy Postscript to John Brown's Book, [entitled 'Quakerism the Path-way to Paganism,'] and S. R.'s Letters, I am astonished and much ashamed on thy behalf! Are these the best fruits of so many years affliction, which thou hast to publish to the world,—that one who is called and is actually suffering as a Nonconformist to this sinful time, should have learned no more *conformity* to meek and lowly Jesus,—of whom it is said, 'He learned obedience by the things which he suffered?' Surely, none who read thy language will say, *This man hath been with Jesus;* but rather, that in whose company soever thou hast been, thou hast learned to be a cunning artist at the scolding trade; and art therein so 'vainly puffed up, as even to fly aloft, though with waxen wings, above the lowly, meek, and harmless spirit of Christ. In truth, had I all thy rhetoric, whether natural or acquired, and which thou so much misimprovest, gratifying that part in thyself and thy followers which needs rather to be crucified,—it would not be my desire to imitate thy example. Nor shall I wish, that ever thou mayst have an answer from any of the Lord's people in thy own terms; which indeed are such, that all sober, unprejudiced people who read them, will see thy spirit, that it is most strongly imbittered, and thy pen dipped as it were in gall. I say, it is not my desire to bring forth one 'railing accusation' against thee, neither to answer many things thou hast vented forth against the Lord's present work and witnesses, whom thou so despisest and defiest. Yet, if the living God, a *part* of whose host they are, should see meet, he can raise up the very least among them to deal with thee, and make thee feel 'worm Jacob' a 'threshing-instrument having teeth,' to thresh that lofty, malicious spirit that breathes through thee.

"The consideration of this thy condition, upon thy own soul's

account, is the occasion of this letter; wherein I desire to lay some things before thee, which are with weight upon me; my compassion on thy behalf being kindled, lest, when the Lord comes to visit the earth, thou should be found among those, who *are beating their fellow-servants*—the hazard of which state, thou know'st, and many, no doubt, will feel, when the Lord *rises up to the prey.* For, indeed, his eyes 'are upon the righteous, and his ears are open unto their cry.' Although he be now trying the children of men, permitting some to suffer, and others to do 'hard things;' yet, a hope lives in me, the time is approaching, wherein the Lord will more manifestly appear, to the joy and refreshment of the single in heart, who suffer with him, and patiently wait for him; as well as to the shame and utter overthrow of his opposers.

"One of the particulars I would lay before thee, is, a desire thou wouldst yet in the Lord's light search thy own heart more, till thou find'st out, what secret affinity hath remained with thee to any of the Lord's enemies in thy own heart. For, if all were brought under the government of the Son of God inwardly, I am fully persuaded, thy outward opposition to the Lord's work could not long stand. The outward is a true figure of the inward: for I know by true experience, all that despite, together with all those disdainful, undervaluing epithets, thou squeezest up thy engine to coin, (and which one may feel, answer not fully thy own satisfaction,) for the purpose of bespattering and loading this people and their principles,—is but, alas! a mirror-glass set up to represent the low, mean, unworthy esteem thou bearest to the light of Christ in its appearance as a reprover within thee. For, whosoever turns universally at the reproofs of God's light in the conscience, shall witness the pouring forth of his Spirit in larger manifestations; according to Proverbs, i. 23, 'Turn you at my reproof: behold, I will pour out my Spirit unto you,' &c. But that spirit, rather, speaketh in thee, of which Isaiah prophesied, liii. 2, 3, &c. when he alluded to the outward appearance of the same Christ, our Head, and the Captain of our salvation. His sufferings, death, resurrection, and glory, we dearly own, and wait from day to day to feel more of the precious virtue thereof. He was *then* 'despised and rejected of men,' and they 'hid as it were' their 'faces from him,' because His outward appearance was 'as a root out of a dry ground;' neither was there 'form,' or 'comeliness,' or 'beauty,' that he should be desired by that mind, that was looking after great things, and expected outward glory and advantage. Thus was Christ's appearance mistaken by the learned rabbies in that day; notwithstanding they had Moses' and the prophets'

testimonies, nor were wanting in reading the letter, with others in this day. And as it was then, so is it now,—he was and is mistaken by all, who seek *any thing to glory in, save the cross of Christ.* For the wisdom of the flesh ever hath, and ever doth lift fallen man above the *innocent Seed* in themselves, through which alone they can see the invisible glory of the kingdom of God, and find an abundant entrance unto the 'righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost,' of which it consists. Wherefore, take heed of being lifted up above 'the Seed of the kingdom,' the Light, Life and Spirit of Christ in thee; so wilt thou see occasion to work out thy 'salvation with fear and trembling,' and wilt not sit down upon former attainments or experiences when the Life is gone.

Another thing, of which I would put thee in remembrance in these times, is this; The great danger of sinning at 'the waters of strife;' of which the example of Moses may be a standing monument to all generations. Was it not said of him, that he was 'very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth?' yet, 'at the waters of strife' 'he spake unadvisedly with his lips;' because of which, he was debarred from entering into the promised rest. And are there not some in this day, who with sorrow of heart have observed the heat and bitterness of spirit which exist, and how differences and controversy concerning religion have eaten out the life of love and tenderness, that was in many? And those who have hurt the green thing in themselves and one another, have brought on death, darkness, dryness, and sensible withering,—and cannot fail to do so; seeing bitterness of spirit and prejudice, with similar frames of mind, in man or woman, separate from God. For 'God is love, and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him.' And Christ hath said, 'He that abideth in me and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without me, ye can do nothing. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered.' So, not abiding in this pure love to God and his image in his children, hath caused many to fall short, and hath hindered their progress, and made them lose sight of their way, and the 'Guide of their youth:' thus, they have not fully followed the Lord in the regeneration, who renews according to the increase of light, and the measures of his manifestation; whereby they might know, even in this life, a being 'changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.'————

"If ye had the help of the Spirit's immediate teachings in your own hearts, without which ye will not yet understand aright the signs of this time, ye would see the Lord coming out of his holy habita-

tion *to silence all flesh,* 'to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth,' that 'the Lord alone may be exalted.' Hath not the Lord removed the most of all those, who were eminently instrumental to serve him in the work of the ministry? And is he not daily making bare the skirts of such as remain, even daily making those to cease, 'who rejoice in thy pride?' Is not his voice sounding aloud unto such of you as remain, Ye shall 'no more be haughty, because of my holy mountain:' therefore, 'if to-day ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.' For, I am sure, *the Teacher,* that will tell you infallibly what ye are called to do, *is near,* and is not 'removed into a corner.' But it is the enemy's work to veil and cover present duties and opportunities, and to represent what is past and lost as very desirable; and even to prompt a people or person to bewail their past failings and short-comings, who little heed the worth of the remaining season, wherein they may yet 'redeem the time.' Wherefore, my advice in tender love to thy soul, is, That thou wait on the Lord, to understand aright the import of such signs as are now appearing; when the Lord is proceeding 'to do a marvellous work and a wonder among the people;' and is making 'the wisdom of their wise men' to 'perish,' and 'the understanding of their prudent' to be 'hid;' and *pouring out of his Spirit upon sons and daughters, servants and handmaids, provoking to jealousy, and angering* the mighty, learned, wise men of this generation, by the '*foolish*' appearance of a company of illiterate tradesmen, who were never bred up at schools and universities, even weavers, and shoemakers, and fishermen.———

"I also desire thee to consider, how inconsonant with true Christianity a spirit of persecution is; and how much more unsuitable and unequal for a people or person under the same condemnation. Surely, that poor man, who had been but a little time in Christ's company, was so far influenced by his meek and moderate spirit, as not only himself to forbear railing against suffering Christ, but to rebuke his companion for so doing: which instance will stand in judgment against thee for the contrary practice. Neither will thy denying us to be members of Christ, and that we suffer for well-doing, and thy accounting us demoniacs, avail thee any thing, nor cover thee from that woe, (if thou obtain not mercy to repent,) denounced against those that 'call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness,'—in that day, when the Lord Jesus shall declare before men and angels, we are his friends and followers. O Robert! thy hard speeches have manifested thy own sad acknowledgment to be very true: *the*

holy fire is indeed gone out with thee; in the place of which, that which never was, nor is of *God's kindling*, is brought forth. And this is not now to be found merely 'by secret search' in corners, or by secret surmises; but is by many of you laid open, and in thy late Postscript, as on a theatre, set up, so that those who run may read—the holy fire, if ever there was any, is quite extinct.———

"Concerning this compound of unjust, groundless accusations and malicious inventions, I nevertheless hope I may say, there are many sober, serious people, who fear and serve the living God,—inward Jews, whose hearts the Lord hath circumcised to love him, and who desire continually in the integrity of their hearts to serve him,—against whom, no divination nor enchantment of devils or men shall prosper. Of this blessed company, I do avouch myself one, through the free grace of God; and, I trust, we have put all thine and thy brethren's writings in the Lord's own hand to answer, for the vindication of his glory, and the manifestation of his Truth; nor do I desire to make any worse use of thy Postscript, than Hezekiah made of the writings of Rabshakeh in that day. Unto the righteous Lord 'which searcheth the reins and hearts,' do I appeal, for his immediate help, and seasonable, powerful appearance. I desire both to hope and patiently to wait, until he have 'performed his whole work upon Mount Zion and on Jerusalem,' both amongst you and us: then shall be brought to pass the sure promise, 'I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of [my adversary,] and the glory of his high looks.' In that day, he will inwardly and outwardly both 'plead our cause, and execute judgment for us;' he will bring forth 'our righteousness as the light,' and make his judgments for us manifest 'as the noon-day,'—although we now lie among the black pots of your reproaches. The Lord will *bring* us *forth unto the light*, and we *shall behold his righteousness*, either fulfilled within you, or manifested upon you. My witness is in heaven—I am one who 'have not desired the evil day;' but am willing to embrace all the sweet opportunities of the drawings of my Father's love, and the arisings of his life, to 'stand in the gap' for the single-hearted among you.———

"When the Lord called me out from among the Presbyterians, I was one, who according to my education, and information, and inclination from my childhood, was a true lover of that [which was then] called the glorious gospel, and a constant attender upon the declarations thereof. The 'messengers' feet' who published it, were 'beautiful' to me, so long as those ordinances of man were unto me as the ordinances of Christ, which was for the space

of more than thirty years. I loved them more than all things else in this world: I 'passed through' them 'hardly bestead and hungry' for many years, feeling after life and immortality, but could not find it: something was raised in me, which words and reports could not feed: names and notions I minded little; but *Christ to dwell in me* was that, and still is that, which more and more I press after.

"And now I must, for the Truth's sake, say somewhat, (and I know the Lord will not impute it to be boasting,) respecting that season, wherein the Lord revealed to me the true way unto life and immortality by his inward appearance in my soul—which I humbly mention under a fresh remembrance of the love, power, and tender mercy of God, who enabled me. It was a time, in which he had mercifully turned me from all that his light inwardly and law outwardly had ever condemned me for. My heart also did bear witness for me,—whatsoever I had known would please Him, *that* was I choosing to do; nor was I hereby seeking justification in my own righteousness, but rather a sure evidence of my interest in Him, who 'is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, justification, and redemption.' This blessed glimpse of my begun freedom, was given me in a seasonable time, that I might thereby be enabled to speak with mine enemy in the gate, and be encouraged to believe in the light, and wait upon the Lord, to feel his virtue perfectly cleansing me 'from all filthiness of flesh and spirit.' Neither was I an undervaluer of the Scriptures: they were my rule *then,* and I hope for ever my life shall answer to them. *I think they honour the Scriptures most, who live most according to them;* not they, who call them the only rule, yet do not make them their pattern. The Scriptures of truth were precious to me; and by them was I taught, not to walk nor worship in the way of the people; the Spirit showing me his mind in them. And then I saw, in his light, that it is not the Scriptures many adore so much, as their own corrupt glosses upon them.—Neither can my experience go along with what thou affirmest of the hazard of converse with that people, [Friends.] It is very well known to all that lived in the place where I sojourned, I was not one who conversed with them: I was never at one of their meetings: I never read one of their books, unless accidentally I had found them where I came; and then only looked to them, and laid them by again.

"So now it remains with me to tell thee, what was the occasion of my joining with them, since it was none of those thou mentionest; which I will very singly, and can do very comfortably. It

was that thing, ye school-men call *immediate, objective revelation,* (with which, it is my desire ye were more particularly and feelingly acquainted,) whereby the Lord raised in my soul his feeling life; so that I could not sit down satisfied with hearing of what the Son of God had done outwardly, (though I believe, thereby he purchased all that grace and mercy, which is inwardly wrought in the hearts of his children,) until I should be a partaker of the virtue and efficacy of it, and thereby possess 'the substance of things hoped for.' I saw, an historical faith would neither cleanse me nor save me: if that could save any, the devils were not without a door of hope: I felt, I needed *the revelation of the Son of God in me.* All that ever I read or heard, without this, could not give me the saving knowledge of God. 'None knoweth the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him?' Through the virtue of this, were my eyes by degrees more and more opened. For the tender-hearted *Samaritan* had pity upon my wounded soul, when both *priest and Levite passed by,* and 'the watchmen rent my veil;' and when there was no eye to pity, nor hand to help, *He drew near, and poured in wine and oil* as he saw needful, fulfilling in measure the promise, on which he had long caused me to hope, 'He that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.' And again, that sweet saying, so confirming and comforting to me, 'If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? &c. If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?' These precious Scriptures, and many similar to them, being powerfully and seasonably opened up and applied by the Spirit of truth, times above number, both before and since, in effect speaking forth this language, 'Be not faithless, but believing,'—have made me set to my seal those words of Christ, 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.' And as I *walk with Him,* and *abide in Him, watching at the posts of Wisdom's gate,* travelling onward in spirit more and more to bring forth fruit unto Him, endeavouring to walk worthy of Him, 'unto all well-pleasing,' as also daily to die unto self, that Christ may live in me,—thus I become *a passive creature,* and He *an active Christ,* in the increase of whose government, I feel the increase of my peace.

"And thus, my Friend, hast thou here, by some touches at things, occasion to see how far thou art mistaken concerning us; and how far contrary to the truth as it is in Jesus, thou repre-

sent'st many things to the world, speaking evil of things thou know'st not—and if thou *dost* know them, the greater is thy sin.—On two particulars, indeed, I cannot strain charity so far as to believe thou think'st of us. Do we deny Jesus Christ and justification through his righteousness, because we make the sufficiency thereof of a more universal extent than ye? or because we love *whole Christ* so much, and his seamless garment, that we will not have him divided? Nay, we dare not *divide* justification and sanctification, neither *confound* them: we have felt the *blood* and the *Spirit distinct*, yet *inseparable*. Neither canst thou think, we make void the Scriptures, because we honour the Spirit, which was before the Scriptures were written, and bear testimony against all who deny the Spirit's immediate teachings to be the universal privilege of the Lord's people. Thus do ye take away the key of knowledge, and neither enter the kingdom, nor suffer others who would; but monopolize knowledge to yourselves, and intrude your *meanings* upon the consciences of men, *as the rule*:—which meanings, indeed, I do not own, either as the only rule or as any rule, further than as the Spirit of Christ in my conscience answers it.

"The testimony of the Spirit of Truth in thousands with me, will stand and rise up against thee, in the presence of the Lord, when all thy unjust reproaches and malicious accusations shall melt away before the presence of the glory of the heart-searching God. Before his tribunal, I desire daily to stand, that he may more narrowly search me by his light; and not only discover but destroy what he finds contrary to his own pure nature and holy will, whether mediately or immediately revealed. Before this tribunal, thou and I will ere long more solemnly appear, to give an account of the things we have done in the body! That thou mayst be able to do this with joy, and not with grief,—may'st thou, on future occasions, when thou commendest thy writings to others, have so much mercy on thy own soul and the souls of thy readers, as to desire them to *ponder the path of their feet, and let all their ways be established, neither turning to the right hand nor to the left.* And, be sure they come to the *holy faith*, and not merely to an implicit belief of *the tradition of men*. By so doing, thou, and as many as thou canst influence, may come indeed to *fare well in the Lord.*

"I am one who, in my measure, travail for the redemption of the Seed of God in all souls, and in thine.

"LILIAS SKENE."

The Author should have stated, that some few passages in the above letter are omitted, and that some very slight alterations have been made in the phraseology.

Note *Y.*—Page 414.

Robert Barclay left his companions at Herwerden, and *they* took that place, again, on their way home. See W. Penn's Travels.—James the 2nd has been accused of pretending to be the champion of liberty of conscience, for the sake of opening a way for the establishment of the Roman Catholic party. This limitation of his good offices to the Barclays only, and his refusal to interest himself for the relief of the sufferers generally, does indeed favour the opinion that he was a timeserver, and not a real friend to liberty of conscience. See R. B.'s Life.—Ragley, was a seat of the Lord Conway, whose Lady may be said to have been one of *the excellent of the earth*, and was, doubtless, a particular acquaintance of the Princess Elizabeth, as she certainly was of the writer of this letter. For some extraordinary account of her, see a *supplementary note* at the end of Penington's Letters, *2nd edit.* 1829, published by Holdsworth and Ball, London.

Note *Z.*—Page 424.

Bishop Burnet declares of Archbishop Sharpe, that "he stuck neither at solemn protestations, both by word of mouth and by letters, nor at appeals to God, of his sincerity in acting for the Presbytery, both in prayers and on other occasions; joining with these many dreadful imprecations, if he did prevaricate. He was all the while maintained by the Presbyterians as their agent, and continued to give them a constant account of his negociations in their service, *while he was indeed undermining it.* This piece of craft was so visible,—he having repeated his protestations to as many persons as then grew jealous of him,—that when he threw off the mask, about a year after this, *it laid a foundation of such a character of him,* that nothing could ever bring people to *any tolerable thoughts* of a man, whose dissimulation and treachery were so well known, and of which so many proofs were to be seen under his own hand."—"A monster of hypocrisy, perjury, and vileness," says Cruickshank in his History; "he betrayed the Church of Scotland, and persecuted the true members of it." vol. i. p. 124.—Laing, another historian of Scotland, among other expressions, in his review of the character of the Archbishop, has the following:—"that he was vain, vindictive, perfidious, at once haughty and servile, rapacious and cruel, *his friends have never attempted to disown*:" "———he became an unrelenting persecutor, like most apostates:———" vol. iv. p. 95.

Note *AA.*—Page 441.

Particulars of this difference, may be seen in "Memoirs of the Life and Actions of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel," vol. ii. p. 49, &c.

and especially of the part taken by Barclay in that troublesome affair. He evinces much disinterested and unambiguous friendship towards his brother-in-law, who had a very powerful opponent in the Duke of Gordon. After writing on his behalf to several of the English nobility, with whom he was intimate;—all of whom however declined giving their assistance in that business, though they proffered their good offices in any other respect in which they could serve him;—Barclay recommends him, to endeavour by all means to obtain private access to the King. But his friend did not stop here. He followed up this recommendation, by himself undertaking to solicit the interference of James the 2nd; and succeeded in obtaining from him a full hearing upon the whole matter, in the presence of the Marquis of Powis and the Earls of Murray and Melfort, who were requested to become referees. Persevering through all obstructions raised by the opposite party, Barclay was at length enabled to obtain a final settlement, much to the advantage of Cameron of Lochiel.

Note *BB.*—Page 449.

Ann, Countess of Errol, to Christian Barclay.

"Slains, 27th February, 1690-1.

"Much Honoured,

"As there was none had a greater esteem of the merit of your worthy husband while alive than I, so there is none values his memory more than I shall always do; and this remembrance of him, which you have been pleased to send me, shall on that account be as carefully kept as I preserve any thing,—which I accept of with very sincere gratitude to yourself and all the rest of his family. I cannot fail to have a kindness for them, by reason of their relation to one I considered as so deserving a friend both to myself and to my brothers. For I have been often very well pleased to hear him mention them very affectionately, even at a time when most of the world had a vanity in railing at them; but I cannot deny him the justice to own, that I found his friendship for them rather increase than diminish, as their misfortunes grew upon them; and I am sure they are both very sensible of their loss, by being deprived of so worthy and disinterested a friend as he proved on all occasions. But besides all the obligations I owe you upon his account, either for my relations or myself, I am now particularly bound to yourself for minding to bestow one of his books on me; though I cannot but value the favour you do me, in believing me one that had a real esteem of his virtues more than is possible for me to express. And, by the little time which I had

the satisfaction to see your son, *I was very well pleased to see so good appearances in him of supplying the place of so deserving a father;* and it shall be a very acceptable satisfaction to me to see any of your family at this place;—for I am affectionately at your service,

"ANN ERROL."

NOTE *CC.*—Page 455.

"In the year 1694, Peter Gardner, a Friend who lived in Essex, had a concern to visit Friends in Scotland; but being in low circumstances, and having a wife and several children, was under discouragement about it The Lord in mercy condescended to remove his doubts, by letting him know he would be with him; and though he had no horse to ride, and was but a weakly man, yet he would give him strength to perform the journey, and sustain him so that he should not want what was sufficient. Having faith, with innocent weight he laid his concern before the monthly meeting to which he belonged: they highly esteemed his gift, and had full unity with his concern; and proposed procuring him a horse for his journey. But he said, 'Nay: My Master has promised to give me hind's feet.'

"He accordingly went on his journey along the east side of the nation, through Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire; and coming to a week-day meeting at Bridlington, where John Richardson then dwelt, he lodged at his house. In the evening, the doors being shut, he said to John, pointing his finger in a particular direction, 'Is there any Friend lives that way?' John told him. He pointed towards the sea, which was not far from thence. He said, He believed he must go and see somebody that way in the morning. John asked him, If he should go with him; he said, He believed it would not be best: and so, went to bed. In the morning, after John had walked over his grounds, and done his usual business, he came in, and inquired after Peter; his wife said, She had not seen him, and believed he was not risen. John went up into his chamber, and finding him not there, came down, and in a pleasant way said to his wife, 'There is the nest, but the bird is flown.' Soon after, came in Peter. He had risen before the sun, and went to the village, by no other direction than that internal intelligence he immediately received; and, at sun-rising, beheld a Friend leaning on a post at his own door, in a pensive and solitary mood. Peter went to him, and asked him after his welfare, and if he had any family; he said, He had a wife, confined to her bed with a dangerous illness, and invited him to see

her; to this, he replied, 'For that end am I come.' He went up stairs, and sitting down retiredly by her side, in an awful and solemn manner, said, 'Thou hast long had a concern on thy mind to visit the churches in America, but thy husband has hindered thee:' and told her, The will and resignation of her mind was accepted for the deed, and she was excused from the journey which was before her; and should die in peace with God and man. Then addressing her husband, he said, 'Thy wife had a concern to visit the churches in another country beyond the sea, but thou wouldst not give her leave; so, she shall be taken from thee:' and, repeating part of what he had said to her, added, 'Thy wife will be happy: but the Lord will blast both thee and thine; for behold the Lord's hand is against thee, and thou shalt be reduced to want thy bread.' This message was not received in that love, in which it was delivered; but in heat and passion, he came after Peter; and, calling in great haste, as he sat on horseback, at John Richardson's door, seemed very angry with John, and asked, What man and message he had sent to him? 'As to *message*,' said John, 'I know nothing of it; but as to *the man*, I may tell thee, he is a man of God, and whatever he has said to thee, be it upon thee. Therefore be still, and weigh the matter: for I knew not of his going to thy house, but thought he was in bed, and did not inform him about thee, nor thy wife.' At which, he went away in great haste.

"So, Peter pursued his journey towards Scotland, John Richardson and another Friend going with him to Scarborough on horseback—for he would not let them go on foot with him. He kept before them full as fast as they chose to ride: and when they had got about half way, he gained ground upon them: John was filled with admiration, for he seemed to go with more slight and ease, he thought, than ever he had seen any man before. And riding fast to overtake him, and going over a field for a nearer cut, he appeared to be surrounded by glory, and his feet seemed not to touch the ground. When he overtook him, John said, 'Thou dost travel very fast:' Peter replied, 'My Master told me before I left home, that he would give me hind's feet; and he hath performed his promise to me.' When they came in sight of Scarborough, he said, 'Do take me to some Friend's house—*a Friend's indeed*, for I am greatly distressed.' 'I will have thee to a house where I lodge, and have spent many hours with pleasure; and if thou art not easy there, I will go until we find a place, if it may be.' And just as they entered the door, *they heard some one go up stairs;* and anon, the woman Friend coming down, with a neighbour of hers, invited them to sit down. In a little while,

Peter appeared *very uneasy;* which John perceiving, asked, how it was with him; he said, 'I cannot stay in this house: *here is light and darkness, good and bad.*' The woman, after she had got them some refreshment, came and asked John, 'Who hast thou brought here?'—'A man of God,' he replied. Whereupon, they went away.

"Having a meeting at Scarborough the next day, John Richardson staid with him; and said, he had good service. He also went with him to several Friends' houses there; and he frequently spoke his sense of the state of the families: but as they were near entering one house, Peter stopped, and said, 'My Master is not there—I will not go in:' so they turned away. Being about to part, he queried with John, If the small-pox was in any town on his way? John replied, 'Why? Peter, what hast thou to do with that?'—he answered, '*I am satisfied I shall die of that distemper;* and my Master told me to make speed in this visit, for I had but a *short* time to do it in;' repeating his promise of giving him hind's feet. John felt himself much affected: and, considering his mean appearance, asked, How he was prepared for money? telling him his journey was long, it being expensive travelling in Scotland, Friends being so thin. Peter answered, 'I have enough: my Master told me I should not want; and now a bit of bread, and some water from a brook, refreshes me as much as a set meal at a table.' But John insisted to see how much money he had: it was but two half-crowns. He felt an immediate impulse to tender him some money; and, putting his hand into his pocket, took out a number of small pieces, which Peter modestly refused, saying, He doubted not of his Master's provision. John forced him to take it; telling him, It was as free to him as his own; for so the Lord had put it into his heart.—Thus they parted.

"In about two weeks after, the man's wife, before mentioned, died, as Peter had foretold. At that time, the same man had three ships at sea; his son was master of one, his second son was on board another; and, in their voyages, they were all wrecked or foundered, and their cargoes chiefly lost; his two sons and several of the hands being drowned. So that, from considerable affluence, he was soon after reduced so low, as to be maintained by Friends, though he had been in good circumstances, if not very rich, before those unexpected losses, at sea and land, in houses and children, had befallen him.—The *woman,* at whose house Peter was so uneasy at Scarborough, *had put her husband to bed in a state of intoxication;* which John Richardson had not known him guilty of before.

"John Richardson further related, that after some time, he heard, that Peter Gardner had died in Cumberland, on his return from Scotland; and being attached to him in near affection, went to inquire how he ended. John Bowstead, a Friend near Carlisle, gave account, that Peter had been through Scotland, and came to Carlisle; the small-pox being there, he took the infection very suddenly, and lay ill with it. So John Bowstead went just as the pock was coming out upon him, and took him to his own house; they did not come out kindly, but swelled him very much, so that he was blind, and died about the seventh day. He was *quite sensible* to the last; and in a remarkable manner, was given to know the inward states of those that came to see him. And further, the money which John Richardson had handed to him, actually lasted out, so as to defray the expenses of his interment and other charges incurred there."

Note *DD*.—Page 477.

The sentiment thus quaintly conveyed in the two last lines of this stanza, has always been prominently held forth to view by the Society of Friends; but has been not unfrequently in a strange degree misunderstood, as well as attempted to be perverted to our prejudice. The following quotation from a small volume, highly approved by orthodox members of the "*Established Church of England*," may serve to illustrate its truth and import.—"Though holy and religious persons do much eye the law of God, and have a great regard unto it, yet it is not so much the sanction of the law, as its reasonableness, and purity, and goodness, which do prevail with them; they account it excellent and desirable in itself, and that in keeping of it there is great reward; and *that divine love* wherewith they are actuated, makes them become *a law unto themselves.*

Quis legem det amantibus?
Major est amor lex ipse sibi.

Who shall prescribe a law to those that love?
Love's a more powerful law, which doth them move.

"In a word, what our blessed Saviour said of himself, John, iv. 34, is in some measure applicable to *his followers,* that *it is their meat and drink to do their Father's will:* and as the natural appetite is carried out toward food, though we should not reflect on the necessity of it for the preservation of our lives; so are *they* carried with a natural and unforced propension towards that which is good and commendable."—*The Life of God in the Soul*

of Man, 9th edit. p. 7.—This volume contains much that is of sterling, spiritual worth. It has been already quoted in the course of these Notes, and as there stated, was penned by Henry Scougal, styled, *professor of divinity* at Aberdeen, son of Patrick Scougal, Bishop of that place, whose name has been repeatedly mentioned in these Memoirs. *Bishop Burnet, the historian,* first published it in 1691; and, in his preface, affirms, that "the author has written out *nothing* here, but what he himself did *well feel and know.*" No wonder, then, that Pinkerton, in his "Iconographia Scotica," should describe it as "a work of eminent piety, *without enthusiasm.*"

Note *EE.*—Page 478.

At page 441 of these Memoirs, mention has been made of a connexion in marriage between Jean Barclay, sister to "the Apologist," and "Sir Ewen Cameron of *Lochiel.*" The family of *Lochell,* here spoken of, as being visited by the son of "the Apologist," in company with his three fellow-travellers, was the same. And it further appears, by a minute of the Aberdeen Monthly Meeting, that "Una Cameron, daughter to Ewen Cameron of Lochell," laid before them her intention of marriage with "Robert Barclay, grandson of the Apologist."

Note *FF.*—Page 528.

The following admission has recently appeared from the pen of the biographer of Baxter; and forms no unimportant attestation in favour of that special service, to which the Society of Friends were eminently called.—"Considering," says Orme, "the abuses of divine ordinances, which had so long and so extensively prevailed, *it is not surprising,* that such a system as *Quakerism* should have arisen; and," continues he, "it may perhaps have answered a useful purpose, in calling the attention of men professing Christianity, *to the great design of all its ordinances,* and to which they ought ever to be regarded as subservient—*the promotion of spirituality of mind, and the enjoyment of communion with God.*" vol. ii. p. 349. It is remarkable, too, that Baxter himself, whose controversy lay for many years against the doctrine of the Spirit, as it was so prominently held forth by our honourable predecessors, should, latterly in life, have been brought thus far to acknowledge:—"I am now," he says, "much more apprehensive than heretofore of the necessity of well grounding men in their religion, especially of *the witness of the indwelling Spirit,*—for I more sensibly perceive, that *the Spirit is* THE GREAT

WITNESS *of Christ and Christianity to the world.* And though the folly of fanatics tempted me long to overlook *the strength of this testimony of the Spirit,* while they placed it in a certain internal assertion, or enthusiastic inspiration; yet now I see that the Holy Ghost, in another manner, *is the witness of Christ,* and *his agent in the world.*"—Life and Times, by Orme, vol. ii. p. 459.

In connexion with the subject of the present Note, the Author cannot better do justice to his own sentiments upon the important ground which the early Friends took, than by quoting a few lines from a valuable pamphlet, which has appeared while these sheets were passing the press. "The professors of Christianity in the time of George Fox, had generally forsaken the spirituality of religion, but were not in the least wanting as to a belief in the outward coming, the divinity, and sacrifice of Christ. Hence there was not *that* necessity of insisting upon faith in this last mentioned part of the covenant, respecting which there was *no* defect of faith, as upon that part in which there *was* a deficiency.—— I believe, that the more [of] true, spiritual Christianity a man has, the better he will be qualified, rightly to see and to estimate the doctrines of truth, as contained in the Holy Scriptures, *relative to the outward coming and offices of Jesus Christ.* And, for this very reason, I believe, and am abundantly convinced, that our predecessors had much more of *the true faith,* and had much clearer views of the meaning and standing of the Scriptures, as well as *of the true divinity of our Lord and Saviour, and the purposes of his sufferings,* than other professors of that day, who were making a high profession of their faith in them, but many of whom were wanting in spiritual and vital religion." Letters to a Friend, &c. by John Wilbur, p. 26.

NOTE *GG.*—Page 528.

However clear such doctrines may appear to many readers, the Author cannot entirely quit the subject, without still further confirming it, as the doctrine of the Society of Friends, and even of "the Established Church of England," by adducing the following quotation from the writings of a learned man, who had once been a rector among the *latter religious class,* but ultimately became a valued minister among the *former.*

"We say, then, according to the Scriptures, That Christ died for all, that they which live, should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them and rose again, 2 Cor. v. 15.—that without faith it is impossible to please God, Heb. xi. 6.—that without repentance the sinner shall perish, see Luke, xiii. 3, 5.—

and without holiness no man shall see the Lord, Heb. xii. 14. And, (in the words of *Archbishop Tillotson* in his Sermon 4th, Concerning the Incarnation of our blessed Saviour, on John, i. 14.) we add, that, 'The salvation which the Son of God hath purchased for us, and which he offers to us by the gospel, is not to be accomplished and brought about any other way, than by forsaking our sins and reforming our lives. *The grace of God, which hath appeared to all men, and brings salvation,* will not make us partakers of it in any other way, or by any other means, than *by teaching us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, and righteously, and godly, in this present world.* God sent his Son to bless us, *by* turning us away every one from his iniquities; and unless this change be effectually wrought in us, we are utterly incapable of all the blessings of the gospel of Christ. All that he hath done for us, without us, will avail us nothing, unless we be inwardly transformed, and renewed in the spirit of our minds, unless we become new creatures, unless we make it the continual and sincere endeavour of our lives to keep the commandments of God.'—

"'The obedience and sufferings of our blessed Saviour,' continues the Archbishop, 'are indeed accounted to us for righteousness, and will most certainly redound to our unspeakable benefit upon the performance of the condition which the gospel doth require on our part, namely, that every man that names the name of Christ, depart from iniquity. And the grace of God's Holy Spirit, is ready to enable us to perform this condition, if we earnestly ask it, and do sincerely co-operate with it; provided we do what we can on *our* part, God will not be wanting on *his*. But if we receive the grace of God in vain, and take no care to perform the condition, and neglect to implore the grace and assistance of God's Holy Spirit to that purpose, we have none to blame but ourselves; because it is then our own fault, if we fall short of that happiness which Christ hath purchased and promised to us, upon such easy and reasonable conditions as the gospel proposeth.'"— The Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge. 1726. p. 453.

THE END.

J. Rickerby, Printer, Sherbourn Lane.

Bound by
DESS & TALAN
New York, N. Y.

92
J18
119395
Jaffray, A.
Diary of Alexander Jaffray

119395
92
J18

St. Mark's Library
The General Theological Seminary
175 Ninth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10011

Please stamp date in left column, write your name legibly in center column and leave right column blank. Deposit circulation card in slot marked 'Circulation cards'.

There is no date due, but books must be returned promptly upon request. Do not lend books charged to you to others.
You are responsible for them.